National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

Canada

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF AN ART WORLD:
A CASE STUDY IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF PAINTING

by

CATERINA PIZANIAS ©

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL 1992

National Library of Canada
Canadian Theses Service
Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Service des thèses canadiennes

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-315-77243-3

Canada

RELEASE

To Whom It May Concern:

I hereby allow Caterina Pizanias to use reproductions of the following paintings in the thesis entitled "The Social Construction of An Art World: A Case Study in the Sociology of Painting":

Plate 1:	Untitled monoprint on rice paper, 14 1/2" x 18 1/2", 1962
Plate 2:	Untitled, 32" x 38", May 1964, exhibited in Sixth National Gallery Biennial, 1965
Plate 3:	"#1", 44" x 48", 1969, collection of Edmonton Art Gallery
Plate 4:	Untitled, September 1973, 46" x 54 1/4"
Plate 5:	"Banff #2", 1977, acrylic on paper, 20" x 26"
Plate 6:	"Little Keeper," 1981, acrylic on canvas, 104.1 cm x 57.5 cm
Plate 7:	"Back 54," 1984, 172.1 cm x 160.3 cm

D Haynes

Douglas Haynes
Department of Fine Arts
University of Alberta

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR: Caterina Pizanias

TITLE OF THESIS: The Social Construction of an Art World: A Case Study in the Sociology of Painting

DEGREE: Doctor of Philosophy

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: Fall 1992

Permission is hereby granted to the University of Alberta Library to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves all other publication and other rights in association with the copyright in the thesis, and except as hereinbefore provided neither the thesis nor any substantial portion thereof may be printed or otherwise reproduced in any material form whatever without the author's prior written permission.

C. Pizanias

Post Office Box 9184, Station 'F'
Calgary, Alberta T2J 6X9 Canada

September 17, 1992

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF AN ART WORLD: A CASE STUDY IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF PAINTING submitted by CATERINA PIZANIAS in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY in SOCIOLOGY.

Dr. N. Stehr
Supervisor

RA Sydie
Dr. R. Sydie

Dr. R. Morrow

John Young
Dr. J. Young

J. Jagodzinski
Dr. J. Jagodzinkski

Dr. J. Jackson
Concordia University, Montreal

Date: April 8, 1992

For Fred Smith and Otto Von Mering

ABSTRACT

In order to empirically study an art world, an empirical framework must first be developed which takes into account the production of artistic value. This thesis develops such a framework for an empirical study of an art world of painting drawing much from the work of Pierre Bourdieu, specifically his notions of "***field,***" "***habitus***" and "***disposition.***" In it, aesthetic value is shown to be the result of rule-governed and institutionally bounded actions. In addition to a description of the relational patterns and power struggles which so far have not been accounted for in other discussions of Edmonton's art world of painting, this thesis provides an occasion for experimental/interdisciplinary narrative strategies. It may be seen both as a document and as an analysis of an ethnographic case study, contributing to the development of this perspective within the sociological tradition.

The first part of the work is composed of a critical review of the relevant sociological literature, paying particular attention to the contributions made by Janet Wolff, Howard Becker and Liah Greenfeld. These works are shown to be inadequate for the task at hand. It is suggested instead that the concept of "***field***" provides a useful framework within which to analyze the production of artistic value. In the second part, Edmonton's art world of painting is described by some of its own voices as well as by accounts based on my ethnographic work and secondary data research. It is concluded that an artistic field of painting (an art world) is a field of power and the production of artistic value is shown to be contingent on the distribution of aesthetic capital.

Acknowledgments

Theses, like selves or like paintings, are constructed in relationships and this one is not an exception. My committee members have been patient and considerate and I thank them for it. I would like to acknowledge a special debt to Nico Stehr for his continuing support and Ray Morrow for his helpful comments, even when I chose not to heed them.

My greatest debts are those which may never be settled because they are the debts of the heart. I have dedicated this dissertation in part to Professor Otto von Mering, the best teacher a beginning graduate student could ever hope for. It is from Otto that I learned to use and bend without fear circumscribed intellectual contexts, and it is from him also that I learned that friendships are for life — this is a promise for better work to come.

The last note of thanks and the weight of the dedication goes to my husband, Fred Smith, who has endured the sacrifices and patiently waited all these years for this work to be completed — his love and sense of humour enabled me finally to reach the end of what has been a long, and at times a trying journey. I can only return a fraction of his love with this dedication.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1
Introduction 1

CHAPTER 2
Literature Review 11

CHAPTER 3
Theoretical Framework 54

CHAPTER 4
In Search of Method 66

CHAPTER 5
The Art World: Historical Antecedents and Structure 97

CHAPTER 6
Edmonton's Art World: The Actors
  Painters 150
  Directors/Curators 167
  Art Dealers 198
  Critics/Reviewers 218

CHAPTER 7
The Making of An Artistic Career 229

CHAPTER 8
Conclusion 272

NOTES 285

BIBLIOGRAPHY 310

LIST OF PLATES

Plate 1 Untitled monoprint on rice paper, 14 ½ x 18 ½, 1962 257

Plate 2 Untitled, 32" x 38", May 1964, exhibited in Sixth National Gallery Biennial, 1965. 258

Plate 3 "#1" 44" x 48", 1969, collection of Edmonton Art Gallery 259

Plate 4 Untitled, September 1973, 46" x 54 ¼" 260

Plate 5 Banff #2, 1977, acrylic on paper, 20" x 26" 261

Plate 6 "Little Keeper," 1981, acrylic on canvas, 104.1 cm x 57.5 cm 262

Plate 7 "Back 54," 1984, 172.1cm x 160.3 cm 263

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In his essay on philosopher Martin Heidegger, Pierre Bourdieu spoke of discourse as being "the product of a compromise between an expressive interest and a censure constituted by the very structure of the field within which the discourse produces itself and within which it circulates."[1] This thesis is such a product, a compromise between my interest in finding out how artistic value is produced in a world of painting and the censure of the field of sociology within which the thesis is being produced and will likely circulate. My debt to Pierre Bourdieu for providing me with the structural model of the "field" on which to mark the positions and map out the positionings of the actors of the art world will become clear as the text unfolds. More importantly, though, Bourdieu's notions of "field," "habitus," and "disposition" have allowed me to understand my own social position as a doctoral candidate in sociology as being but another "positioning" to secure a "position" within the "field" of sociology. This text, then, must be such that it will withstand the censure of the field of sociology, so as to allow me passage into the field proper. This thesis thus is an articulation of my present social position, and my presentational/rhetorical strategies will reflect my appropriation of the canonical texts of the field, tempered by my "inherited dispositions" and "functioning ethos."

I was born and raised in Athens, Greece, and was preparing to become an architect or, failing that, a Byzantine icon restorer when the political climate in

Greece took an unfortunate turn: a military junta took over, an event that was to affect not only my course of university studies but my temperament and life course in general. Fleeing the generals, I ended up as a resident alien in Florida with an English vocabulary of possibly a dozen words. Having survived the shock of finding out that the United States did not at all resemble the America of Frank Capra or Sergio Leone I had grown up with in matinée cinema, I set out to learn English. I enrolled in evening classes — populated mostly by Cubans fleeing Castro and a handful of Greek men wanting to learn enough English to obtain their drivers licence — a most alienating experience, especially as those teaching the classes treated us, who were unfortunate enough not to have been born in the States, as dumb and deaf. I began to think that the generals might not be as bad as my early experiences in the United Stated when I found that — because I was an immigrant — I could legally register at a college without the need to prove a functional knowledge of English. The fact that my total inability to communicate in English might render this loophole meaningless never entered my mind; I set out to devise a program of study that would allow me to learn English as a second language without flunking out of school.

While in prep school for architecture in Athens, I had developed an interest in the area of painting and some friendships that allowed me a marginal position in that art world. So, I decided to enrol at a junior college as an art student and study English on the side; but the college did not have classes in English as a second language, except a language lab — audiotape machines with conversational tapes. I first had to employ an older sister and an Italian friend as my interpreters, until I found a routine: I went to art classes and then spent all my free time in the language lab memorizing sentence structures and word substitutes. I did well in my art classes, and I thought my language skills were pretty good except that until many years later my speech was stilted and had an other-worldly quality to it. When I graduated from the junior college, the junta was still entrenched back home so I decided to attend a university to bide my time. I knew that I had to pick a new major — my days posturing as a painter in the making had to come to an end. I chose political sciences, a very respectable choice for an exiled Greek. Doing political science at an American university was neither political nor scientific in the European sense, but life on campus was interesting, and my English was getting better. When I found myself graduating once again with the generals still in power, I decided to really become serious about my course of study — I had good marks and the department wanted me to go on to do a master's degree in political science. I obtained a master's degree, but in aesthetics; I had wanted to write a thesis on Byzantine art, but we could not put a committee together: just about everybody in the Philosophy Department was a Marxist with no interest in art. The Fine Arts Department was marginal but the university's Drama Department was one of the best and very progressive, so my thesis ended up being on Bertolt Brecht as a Marxist aesthetician. I finished the course of study, got my degree, and finally the junta was ousted. Free at last, I thought, and went back home to Athens, only to discover that there is no going back home, at least not for a Greek daughter with a master's in philosophy and a lot of feminist ideas in her head.

So, to make a very long and complicated story short, I came back to North America — by choice this time — working to become a university professor, but not in philosophy, a discipline that had exhausted itself for me while I was writing my master's thesis. I took graduate courses in cultural anthropology, I read philosophical anthropology, I was introduced to the sociology of knowledge, and while I was still undecided, I came to Canada for what at first looked like a couple of years. I taught philosophy for Athabasca University and kept reading feminism and social history of art, and discovered that a master's degree was worthless if one wanted a productive life in academia. When I finally decided to become a doctoral student in sociology in order to study art — painting — things looked very optimistic: the "in" texts spoke of the need to study the social construction of art, the "in" authors spoke about interdisciplinarity, and so on. And there was I — I thought a true interdisciplinarian — being told that unless I took introductory sociology and introductory statistics first, my application would not even be considered. Had I known then what Pierre Bourdieu says about intellectuals' fields as fields of power, I would have completed the basic requirements less grudgingly — but completed they were, and as I now look back, not for naught.

Sociology is the site/discipline from which I depart in order to produce my account of Edmonton's art world of painting — it sets the limits and forces coherence on this story, this text. So, I begin by telling the story of how I ended up centring my project on the production of artistic value, the questions I asked, and the replies I sought/received within and across particular disciplines. My analytic strategy is to read theoretical texts from sociology, cultural anthropology, and feminism, along with texts produced by the agents of the art world of Edmonton and with my own ethnographic data; my analytic task is to provide an adequate account of how artistic value is produced in this art world; and my narrative strategies — interspersing consciously self-reflexive passages, long quotes and static descriptive passages — have been chosen in order to allow me to address issues of (a) interdisciplinarity, (b) "embodied"/"enacted" knowledge, and c) representations of reality — issues stemming from the specificity of my intellectual inheritance and present implication in the knowledge process. In my encounters with the sociological tradition while a graduate student and in preparation for my doctoral candidacy examination process, I came across treatments of the issues that have become central to my thesis, I have found some authors more insightful than others, but all were preoccupied with producing a better or more complete sociology.

Janet Wolff and Vera Zolberg have called for the sociology of art to become interdisciplinary[2] but their calls have been nothing but rhetorical devices: What does it mean for a sociologist to do interdisciplinary work? Will the disciplines be put on a hierarchical scale? Will sociology be at the bottom or the top? Should sociologists be looking for an outside discipline that will provide the limits? Is the issue at hand borrowing concepts/insights from other disciplines and incorporating them within the discursive practices/constraints of the discipline? Both Wolff and Zolberg have answered the last question in the affirmative, but neither has actually done empirical research that is interdisciplinary.

Dorothy Smith has written extensively about the creation of a feminist sociology,[3] and although through her accounts we understand more about the world of lived experiences of women, her questioning of mainstream sociology's accounts of objectivity and generalizability does not go far enough in creating a new sociological research subject and object. Her accounts might be more sympathetic because she is a woman, but she is in charge of the same research subjects as in a rather old-fashioned sociological approach — she chooses the issues, the subjects (for whom she invokes equality of status), — and her consciousness is the privileged one, and it provides the meaning to women's oppression and marginality.

The centrality of the researcher as the subject, which will be the source of meaning and coherence in sociological ethnographic accounts, is taken for granted in the prescriptions and proscriptions of qualitative research methods in treatises in sociology. The researcher/author reformulates the "informant's" account through carefully planned schemata, multiple-strip resolutions, and other data—managing techniques, so that he/she will produce written descriptions of a discovered reality.

If sociology was none too helpful in offering insights to incorporate within my ethnography of Edmonton's art world, neither was cultural anthropology nor French feminism, two areas I was keeping up with. Anthropology's ethnographic other was too "exotic" and sociology's too "deviant"; as for French feminism, I seem always to go a certain distance, and then become lost in the psychoanalytic details of the accounts. The way out for me came via Pierre Bourdieu's treatment of "polythetic" thinking and his notions of "field," "habitus," and "disposition," which gave me the tools to "invent within limits" — to simultaneously resist and preserve sociological discursive practices — and to adopt an interdisciplinary strategy based on temporalized theory (feminism's enacted/embodied theory) and a research/narrative methodology of multiplicity of voices — mine and the art world's agents (the "research as writing critique" of Clifford et al.)[4] to produce a more adequate account of artistic value production in an art world of painting than those offered in the sociological literature.

Constrained by the fact that my account of Edmonton's art world of painting is a thesis with the accompanying disciplinary expectations/institutional rules, I had to adopt and adapt narrative conventions (form) that would allow it to be recognized as such while allowing me to explore my interests (content). Chapters 1 to 4 are the most sociological, wherein I follow the typical structure of a sociology thesis — I present various theoretical approaches, refute some, and accept others on which I will base my research methodology and subsequent research results. In my writing of the literature review, I fixed ambiguities (generations) and attempted to put together a purposeful linear account of art's treatment by sociologists. I insulated myself from explicitly discussing the discipline's non-differentiation of the various arts, because I never saw myself as healer of the discipline's ills: I was always curious about the "how" of artistic valuation in the visual arts. My acceptance of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of artistic fields indirectly points to the need to treat each art form separately. In Chapter 4, the influence of Clifford Geertz and James Clifford — how they helped me go beyond Dorothy Smith's institutional ethnography — becomes most evident. By exposing the institutional and historical constraints under which this writing took place, by telling how I was constituted as a subject, the partiality and artifactuality of social and cultural accounts comes to the fore.[5] Chapter 5 considers the historical forces of which the field of painting is the outcome and describes the structural features of that field — its genesis, structure, and reproduction. The genesis of the field is the product of strategies of differentiation from other fields; its structure is an outcome of the construction of the institutions of the fine arts system and the concealment of their economic nature in the guise of artistic geniuses, artistic masterpieces, and so on. Once institutions like those of the art world are in place (museums, academies, galleries), the field of painting becomes a field of positional forces with its own logic, history, and history of relationships between orthodox and heretical agents in competition for consecration.

I have written Chapter 6 so as to avoid the all but ubiquitous determinists, descriptions that are the outcome of attempts to encompass complex social organizations — such as art worlds — within the parameters of theoretical models such as Pierre Bourdieu's artistic field, with typical individuals such as painters, art dealers, artists, and so forth. I wanted to show (a) the art world of Edmonton as field of power between specific agents and particular structures; (b) the relationships between its agents as specific position-takings in order to secure or reconvert artistic capital; and (c) the production of artistic value as manifestation of "subject-positions" constructed within the relations of power of the art world. Traditionally, ethnographies have been written as descriptions of a group of people with every effort taken to conceal the identities of the informants and other subjects. Following tradition in this case would have meant treatomg artistic production as something deviant, or so private that it needed protection or camouflage. Because artistic fields of painting are intellectual fields like those of the academy, I have chosen to populate my account of Edmonton's art world with named agents, with identities, dispositions, and position-takings that are contextually constructed and reproduced. For this reason, I have made frequent use of long quotes, in order to appropriate individual "voices" as little as possible, to write the ethnography as conversation and social practice between the subjects and the ethnographer as opposed to the traditional description of the subjects' reality seen and written through the privileged "I/eye" of the ethnographer.

Chapter 7 follows the career of Douglas Haynes in an attempt to uncover the dispositional acts — his own and those of his consecrators. Throughout his career as a painter Haynes exhibited what Pierre Bourdieu would characterize as a practical (polythetic) attitude towards the tasks of making pictures, that is he combined his "learned mastery" of the canonical masters and valorized masterpieces with his "practical mastery" — his inherited dispositions, which included his responses to both the physical environment (prairie) and the social environment (husband/father/architectural renderer/teacher). To follow a painter's career is to follow the careers of his/her consecrators: who were they, at what point in their career did they receive his work, how was the work received and appropriated? In the case of Douglas Haynes, Karen Wilkin plays the crucial role because she is the gatekeeper, the person most associated with Haynes' career and work.

Finally, in Chapter Eight I take stock of my arguments and discuss their implications for future research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The sociological study of art is a modern phenomenon in North American sociology; in its short history it has moved from a first generation of scholars concerned with general and somewhat monolithic accounts of the relationship between art and society to a second generation beginning in the 1970s who offer a much more varied examination and critique of culture in general and the arts in particular, paying particular attention to the settings in which art objects are produced and consumed.

Under the rubric of the sociology of art, sociologists have examined the visual, performing, and literary arts as well as popular culture and the mass media; my review will focus primarily on general studies and studies of the visual arts — either historical or contemporary studies. Conventionally, a literature review presents a systematic treatment of theoretical and substantive topics along with empirical work that defines the field. But in sociology of art one is faced with a plethora of case studies and short theoretical pieces in anthologies and specialist journals, a phenomenon that has given rise to a fragmented field at both the practical and theoretical levels. In an attempt to develop a background for evaluation of pertinent contemporary research as well as to establish links between the fragments, I use Perry Anderson's essay "Components of the National Culture"[1] as an intellectual migratory map, a scaffolding of sorts on which to build the history of the sociology of art. In this survey, I propose first to outline the perspectives advanced by the first generation, then to discuss more extensively the views of the more recent group of scholars, and finally, in the concluding part, to examine those works that will be employed as the basis for the theoretical framework and methodology of this thesis.

In "Components of the National Culture," Anderson made some perceptive observations on the intellectual state of the various social sciences disciplines in Britain in the late 1960s. What he had to say about sociology also illuminates what has happened to the history of the sociology of art. He argued that classical European sociology was a "synthetic" social science that "emerged as a bourgeois counter-reaction to Marxism on the continent,"[2] a reaction so strong that it produced an Emile Durkheim, a Vilfredo Pareto, a Max Weber, a George Lukács, and Antonio Gramsci. In the United States, Talcott Parsons recapitulated the classical synthesis in his *Structure of Social Action* (1937), thus becoming an heir of the continental theorists, and leaving Britain of all the major western countries without direct participation in the significant and collective discovery of the new mode of social thought. Instead, Britain became at first a host society for a number of continental emigrés such as Ludwig Wittgenstein, Bronislaw Malinowski, Karl Popper, Karl Mannheim, E. H. Gombrich, and Ernest Gellner, among many others. And even though they were conservative thinkers, their presence, according to Anderson, was still better than their absence: "The very heterogeneity of these individuals underlies the sociological point: no matter what the quantum of talent, any foreign background was an enormous advantage in the British stasis, and might make an intellectual fortune."[3] These emigrés, whom Anderson characterized as "white," played a role in the first generation of sociological discussions of art. The "whites" were followed by another wave of continental emigrés, this time the "reds" — Marxists of varied commitment such as Herbert Marcuse, Theodore Adorno, Walter Benjamin, Max Horkheimer, Georg Lukács, and Bertolt Brech — who either spent only short periods in Britain or bypassed it on their way to the United States. A last group of emigrés was imported to Britain during the 1960s whose work, along with the works of continental theorists such as Luis Althusser, Ferdinand de Saussure, Jacques Lacan, and Antonio Gramsci, extracted British scholarship from its stasis.

It is ironic that the work of the so-called white emigrés became influential in the United States, and that of the red group remained marginal amongst most American sociologists yet became pivotal to the more recent discussion of culture and the arts in Britain. Perhaps because of its lack of a centre of indigenous sociological thought of the magnitude of the "classical European," Britain has become the battleground and/or a kind of clearing house for competing European and American sociological theories and methods. Regardless of the integrity and direction of cross-Atlantic travel, sociology in general and sociology of art in particular have developed different temperaments and agendas: more Parsonian in emphasis in the United States, with variations of Marxist structuralism in Britain and the West European continent.[4]

First Generation

Europe

The sociology of art has its intellectual antecedents and roots in the nineteenth century, for what can indeed be called sociological discussions of art can be found in the European tradition as far back as 1800 when, for example, Madame de Staël examined how the literature of a society can be brought into harmony with the society's beliefs in *De la Literature Considerée dans ses Rapports Avec Les Institutions Sociales*; Hippolyte Taine discussed how the milieu of an artist can affect the creative output in *History of the English Literature* (1871); Herbert Spencer investigated the origins and persistence of aesthetic emotions in his *Principles of Psychology* (1882); Georg Simmel (1882) explored the ethnological and psychological origins of music; and Jean-Marie Guyau in his *Art from the Point of View of Sociology* (1887) suggested that works of art embody social integration. Many other general discussions occurred in scholarly works of the nineteenth century. What becomes clear in the examination of the first generation of scholars concerned with the social role of art, is the fact that the dominant focus was on music and emanated from scholars of Germany or "of German descent." In addition to those already mentioned, Max Weber, Pitirim Sorokin, Theodore Adorno, Alphons Silbermann, Peter Etzkorn, and others focused on music, partly because "music is the most abstract of the arts and as such it lent itself to the type of sociological research interested in speculation and theory in a grand scale."[5] Of all the German sociologists who examined music, only Max Weber and Theodore Adorno had real influence outside music circles.

Consistent with his general philosophy of the social sciences, Max Weber[6] tried to demonstrate through his study of music how the sociological analysis of art can be value-free, even if it deals with value-laden phenomena; he saw Western music as an ideal type of a rationalized outcome that could only have been produced in West European society. The bulk of Adorno's work focused on an examination of the changing role of music in an increasingly commercialized mass society. Sorokin became very influential in the United States with his emphasis on the importance of social processes in the formulation of musical and other artistic tastes and practices. During the same period of time, in France, Pierre Francastel and Jean Duvignaud under the influence of Emile Durkheim, and Lucien Goldmann under the influence of Georg Lukács, working within art history and literature, offered general explanations of the relationship between art and society.

United States

As far back as 1935, A. C. Sewter, in a paper entitled "The Possibilities for a Sociology of Art,"[7] called for interested practitioners in the discipline to define its boundaries, provide basic explanations, and describe an associated research method. Pitirim Sorokin's *Social and Cultural Dynamics: Fluctuation of Forms of Art*,[7] with its main emphasis on problems of societal and cultural integration, provided a theoretical framework for a sociological analysis, and his massive collection of historical information affected a number of American sociologists. Later, Talcott Parson's work on expressive symbols (1951) coupled with the information on artists and art objects drawn from the publication of Arnold Hauser's *The Social History of*

Art provided the theoretical impetus for a series of studies that examined art objects and/or artists as "data for the illumination of small group interaction, professionalization, or complex organizations."[8] For example, other works dealing with various arts from a sociological perspective included John Mueller's The American Symphony Orchestra: History of Musical Taste 1951, Robert Wilson's The American Poet: A Role Investigation, Denison Nash's The American Composer (1959), Jiri Kolaja and Robert Wilson's "The Themes of Social Isolation in American Painting and Poetry" (1954); Bernard Myer's Problems of The Younger American Artist, and James Barnett's "The Sociology of Art" in Robert Merton's Sociology Today: Problems and Prospects (1959). These were the forerunners of a large number of articles, books, and anthologies that were produced by the second generation of American sociologists of art. Some commonalities quickly emerged: these works were situated within a structural-functional approach, emphasized empirical work, and showed a preference for the performing arts. The key problems these American sociologists of art saw were, first, to strive to form general laws[9]; second, the necessity to maintain artistic neutrality towards the art under review[10]; third, the use of a socio-economic model that would focus on "facts" such as the artists' social origins, education, training, economic status, leisure activities, and working habits[11]; fourth, the study of the publics such as art fashions and tastes, motives and patterns of consumption, and art policy[12]; and fifth, the study of art as institution: technology and media, socialization and training, reward systems, and so on.[13] The totality of these issues and discussions corresponds to the model of sociology as a positive science, a concentration that retained its stronghold well into the next generation.

Second Generation

The intellectual work and politics in the later 1950s had a decidedly different character in Western Europe than in the United States. Europeans were increasingly concerning themselves with issues of culture/ideology/consciousness, propelled by the arguments put forward both by Luis Althusser's structuralism, a "structuralism that had a double foundation — it was defined against economism and humanism, and E. P. Thompson's project, which "took as his object two forms of the same basic problematic: the reductionism of bourgeois economic history and an economistic Marxism."[14] Across the Atlantic, "American sociology, in either its Parsonian theorization or its structural-functionalist methodology, was theoretically incapable of dealing with these issues. It was systematically functionalist and integrative in perspective. It had abolished the category of contradiction: instead, it spoke of "dysfunctions" and of "tension management." It claimed the mantle of a science; it did not deal with "culture," except within the terms of a highly pessimistic variant of the "mass society/mass culture" hypothesis; it militantly refused the concept of ideology; it preferred a methodology — **the** method of the social sciences — modelled on a highly outdated version of the natural sciences, militantly empiricist and quantitative."[15] In what follows I will examine the directions that the sociological study of the arts took during the last twenty years, primarily in Britain and the United States.

Britain

Because Britain, as Perry Anderson pointed out, had failed to participate in the production of classical sociology, in either its "synthetic" continental or its Parsonian version, it found itself at a theoretical and practical stasis as the social changes of the 1960s unfolded. But the publication of Raymond William's The Long Revolution in 1963 and E.P. Thomson's The Making of the English Working Class (1963) provided not only a break from the influence of the "white emigrés" but, along with William's *Culture and Society* (1958) constituted the *caesura* out of which - among other things - 'Cultural Studies' emerged.[16] They were seminal and formative texts but were "they were not in any sense 'text-books' for the founding of a new academic sub-discipline: nothing could have been farther from their intrinsic impulse. Whether historical or contemporary in focus, they were themselves followed by, organized through, and constituted responses to the immediate pressures of the time and society in which they were written. They took "culture" seriously — as a dimension without which historical transformations, past and present, simply could not adequately be thought."[17] The institutionalization of cultural studies took place in the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham and later, through the Centre's publications and collaborations, spread throughout Britain's universities and polytechnics. The Centre had many sub-groups working separately or in collaboration such as the history group, the women's studies group, and the sociology group, and these produced a series of monographs, articles, and books that became the catalyst of a new turn in British scholarship.

Richard Johnson describes the Centre's history as having two phases: the first, which he calls the "moment of culture,"[18] took place immediately after the publication of the above texts, and the second, "the moment of theory,"[19] followed the translation into English from French, German, Russian, and Italian the works of second generation Marxists such as Georg Lukács, Antonio Gramsci, Luis Althusser, Ferdinand de Saussure, Claude Levi-Strauss, Jacques Lacan, and the critical theorists of the Frankfurt School.

> Ever since the "moment of culture" encountered the "moment of theory", cultural studies "has attempted to *think forward* from the best elements in the structuralist and culturalist enterprises... Though neither structuralism nor culturalism will do, as self-sufficient paradigms of study, they have a centrality to the field which all the other contenders lack, because, between them (in their divergences as well as their convergences) they address what must be the *core problem* of Cultural Studies. They constantly return us to the terrain marked out by those strongly coupled but not mutually exclusive concepts culture/ideology. They pose, together, the problems consequent on trying to think *both* the specificity of different practices and the forms of the articulated unity they constitute. They make a constant, flowed, return to the base/superstructure metaphor, and that, ...on the solution of this problem will return the capacity of Cultural Studies to supercede the endless oscillations between idealism and reductionism. ...In their sustained and mutually reinforcing antagonisms they hold out no promise of an easy synthesis. ...theirs are the names of the game."[20]

Increasingly the Centre changed its intellectual focus: culture was not only seen as reflecting other practices, *it* became itself a signifying practice, a practice that produced an astonishing amount of theoretical work centred on or reaching to

Foucault's genealogical approach, Lacan's psychoanalysis, discourse, and new social history theories. British scholars, as if to make up for lost time, embarked on numerous discussions of the exact relationship of culture/ideology/consciousness/ social structure. In the process they re-worked the classical theories of base and superstructure, developed a materialist definition of culture, and discussed the relative autonomy of cultural practices, culture's specificity, and irreducibility so as to rescue it from reductionist accounts. In their efforts to incorporate different theoretical traditions, they introduced new terminology such as "subjectivity, signification, representation, discourse," which makes it extremely difficult for subsequent practitioners "to situate themselves within increasingly fractured sets of theoretical problematics."[21] Attempts to create unitary texts frequently succeeded only in forcing the fragments together without establishing links between them: "while theoretical starting-points are legion, it is not easy to point to models of close, careful but fully conceptualized concrete studies. Indeed, current debates have sometimes helped to drive a wedge between theory and the analysis of current situations."[22]

Janet Wolff, who contributed substantially to the sociology of art and also at times worked through or in collaboration with the Centre, agrees with Johnson that most of the debate surrounding the concepts of culture, ideology, and social structure expended a lot of intellectual energy that resulted in a rather "sterile" and "theoreticist" discourse, and in the early 1980s she suggested that what was needed was "a more symbiotic relationship between concrete historical work and theoretical generalization."[23]

Janet Wolff of all the British sociologists has spent most of her intellectual life attempting to create a unified field of study for a sociology of art within Marxist discourse. In 1975, she began her career with the publication of Hermeneutic Philosophy and the Sociology of Art, which she put forward as a blueprint for "an adequate sociology of art" whose goal will be to "make clear the social nature of art in terms of the expression in art of the total ideology, or world-view, or aspects of the world-view, of the social group in which it arises. ...it must be made clear in what way art can be said to express ideology. ...and the whole analysis must be undertaken and phrased in language which is adequate at the level of meaning."[24] To accomplish her goal, Wolff combined the hermeneutic philosophy of Gadamer with Schutz's phenomenological insistence on the social construction of reality to create a "phenomenology of artistic consciousness."[25] Along the way she reviewed, summarized, and critiqued the work of such authors as Lucien Goldmann, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Emile Durkheim, Talcott Parsons, Max Weber, Edmund Husserl, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Peter Berger, Thomas Luckmann, and E. H. Gombrich. Actually, the bulk of the book is an elaborate discussion of the preceding authors, but even with its detailed discussion and frequent statements concerning the appropriateness of a phenomenological sociology of knowledge as a framework for empirical work, in the end her one and only examination of the hermeneutic approach falls far short of adequatcy: the last chapter of Wolff's book is reserved not only for a masterful summary of her theoretical discussion, but also for explaining the four steps of the dialectical hermeneutic approach to the sociology of art, using modern dance as the illustration.

It is in this very brief chapter (nine pages in all) that we find some artists from the world of dance identified by name, trade, company, affiliation, and country of origin. Her treatment of modern dance is so impressionistic and her hermeneutic four-step analysis so fleeting: "a) the hermeneutic grasp of the society of genesis of the modern dance; b) the nature of modern dance itself; c) the perspective of choreographer, dancer and, perhaps, audience; and d) the hermeneutic phenomenological comprehension of the dynamics of changing art focus"[26] that her reader is not drawn any closer to seeing the hermeneutic method at work. Moreover, her promise of providing the sociologist and researcher of art, the one constantly "confronted by the twin problems of which aspects of social structure and social life he is to take as significant, and which aspects of the work of art in question — their documentary content, their style, their technical qualities, their art-historical features or their formal attributes,"[27] with a blue-print for action eludes her.

In her second attempt at providing a framework for an adequate sociology of art, *The Social Production of Art*,[28] Wolff abandoned hermeneutics and phenomenology and the understanding of art for a Marxist-materialist approach. This time she focused on the ideological bases of art history and criticism and set out to dispel/demystify the pre-sociological notions of artist-as-genius through the analysis of art as production, paying particular attention to questions of links among structure, mediation, and content. In making her case against the romantic and humanistic notion of artist-as-genius, she discusses the work of Hans Georg Gadamer, E. D. Hirsch, Jr., Wolfgang Iser, Hans Robert Jauss, Raymond Williams, Nikos Hadjinicolaou, Peter Fuller, Luis Althusser, and others. She argues for an end to the "timelessness and value-freedom"[29] so characteristic of mainstream art history and theory, as well as the need to "de-center"[30] the author and rescue art from determinism:

> "It is important to beware of any tendency to overstate the autonomy of codes and discourses, in the commendable refusal to reduce these to mere effects of the social structure. Although it is true that language, representation and ideology play an active part in constituting subjects and fashioning cultural products, they are themselves the product of past practices; their operation as relatively autonomous systems should not blind us either to their own original constitution in extra-discursive processes, or to their constant susceptibility to the intrusion of material and economic factors as transformative influences."[31]

Unlike her previous work, this is less impressionistic in its treatment of art; her arguments are populated with more artists and their specific achievements — even the audience is incorporated as playing an important role in the production of art. Wolff still does not make the transition from theory to practice, but at least this time her insistence on the historical, organizational, and economic structures coupled with the inclusion and emphasis of the art product make this book more relevant for empirical research in the sociology of art.

In her introduction to _The Social Production of Art_, Wolff observes that the sociological study of the arts

> "has been less successful to date in substituting a new aesthetic, which does not pretend to a false neutrality on non-aesthetic questions. Even the better attempts at this conclude by collapsing artistic merit into political correctors, and where they do not resort to this equation, they retain some aspects of a universal, timeless, aesthetic quality which it is difficult to defend. So let me say at the beginning that the book will not attempt to deal with the question of aesthetic value. I do not know the answer to the problem of 'beauty' or of 'artistic merit', and will only state that I do not believe this is reducible to political and social factors; nor do I believe it consists in some transcendent, non-contingent quality."[32]

This agnosticism did not last long: in her latest examination of matters of art and sociology, *Aesthetics and the Sociology of Art* she states that her project is to make explicit the relevance of sociology to aesthetics and to defend aesthetics from sociological reductionism. Presumably, she felt that in the previous work she had leaned too strongly towards the historically determined aspects of art and that it was now time to deal with matters of "beauty" and "merit" through the relative autonomy of the aesthetic, of the origins of its value and its eventual institutionalization and manifestation in artistic practice. The "aesthetic" is to be rescued from sociological reductionism by making it "relatively autonomous" and, following that, assigning the art object a double value, an intrinsic or aesthetic one, as well as an extrinsic or socio-political.

Once again she summarizes various theoretical approaches from Gadamer to Lacan in her effort to this time prove that "bourgeois" aesthetics are not only difficult to prove but also false. She rejects both traditional — idealist/essentialist — aesthetics as well as the sociological reductionism of mainstream materialist treatments, and again states that "the experience and evaluation of art are socially and ideologically situated and constructed, and at the same time, irreducible to the social or ideological."[33] There is a "specificity" to art that is neither wholly idealist nor wholly materialist; as a means of locating such specificity, Wolff proposes three possible approaches (all of which she finds flawed), such as discourse theory — mainly Foucault — the philosophical anthropology of Sebastiano Timpanaro as appropriated by Raymond Williams and Peter Fuller, and the psychoanalytic theories of Jacques Lacan; of the three she favours discourse theory.

In examining three existing treatments of the specificity of the aesthetic, one that locates the aesthetic in the intrinsic qualities of the art object; the Kantian approach of disinterested attitude, especially its phenomenological manifestations; and that of the institutional approaches to art, which see as art whatever the participants of an art world at any given time name as art, Wolff in the end finds that last one shows some promise for discussing the contingent as opposed to the intrinsic aspects of art. She challenges the reader to develop a sociologically informed theory of the aesthetic, and concludes:

> "But whatever the direction taken by sociological aesthetics, one of its most important obligations will be to acknowledge and investigate the specific social and historical conditions of aesthetic experience and evaluation. To that extent, if the debate is between sociology and aesthetics, sociology has the last word."[34]

A few years later, in a collection of essays from sociology, art history, and history that she edited with John Seed The Culture of Capital: Art, Power and the Nineteenth-Century Middle Class, she writes:

> "In the last few years, sociologists of culture have begun to engage in work which examines the social processes and institutions of the arts in relation to their ideological character, getting away from the debates of the 1970s about culture and structure, base and superstructure and other more abstract issues whose clarification was crucial, but whose resolution in a priori terms turned out to be impossible."[35]

In the introduction to this collection she not only calls for more empirical historical work on the cultural institutions but also for inter- or cross-disciplinary work, as "traditional discipline boundaries impede important kinds of scholarship and understanding" and because "the specific methods and concepts which had predominated in each discipline have privileged certain kinds of enquiry, while excluding others."[36]

The above was not meant to be an exhaustive review but merely to illustrate the manner in which Wolff elaborates upon her continuously evolving operative schemata and perspectives in search of an "adequate" sociology of art. The problem underlying Wolff's approach remains her "over-reliance on citation and assertion"[37] a problem that affected most British authors involved in the discourse of unravelling the effects of superstructure to the base, of ideology to aesthetics. This, combined with their agnosticism in matters of "beauty" and its merits, kept them oscillating between idealism and determinism; theirs, as Stuart Hall has said, was the game of "names" — and Wolff was best at it. Almost all of her reviewers praised her for her ability to keep names and concepts straight, for her assertions and denouncements; but equally, almost all commented on her inability to provide a "synthesis" on which a framework could be built for empirical work. Attempt after attempt, she offered a metadiscourse on certain theoretical issues facing sociologists of art, but "although she describes the theoretical boundaries and necessity of an argument well, she frequently fails to engage the issue itself directly and thus prepares the reader for an argument which never comes,"[38] or, as another reviewer states "we are left with an appeal to empirical verification, which is said to be "more or less what Gadamer in his different language means by recommending 'openers' to the 'facts.' A great many serious problems are covered up by this 'more-or-less.' The issues touched in this book [Hermeneutic Philosophy] are important and deserve a much larger, more searching and more critical discussion. This book does not."[39] "Having come this far, the reader is left with a frustrating sense of questions posed and clarified but left unanswered."[40] "The questions left un-answered. How are we to develop the total ideology or world-view of a social group?"[41] "Are all values prejudices? And are some values less valuable than others? How is the epistemological dimension in the sociology of knowledge related to architecture, sculpture and poetry? What is the epistemological problem of their form?"[42] "If the canons of critical theory when applied to aesthetics show the latter to be 'contingent and historically valuable' how can we decide the merits of each [discourse] by asking which provides a better account of the aesthetic?"[43] At the end of her trilogy — the linking of the creative social actor with the totality of the world-view; materialist theorization with a focus on ideology; examination of whether an aesthetic evaluation has social origins (being relative) and at the same time is "autonomous" — Wolff has shown the aesthetic to be autonomous, but "rather than freeing aesthetic value from determinism and relativity, establishes it as synonymous with the discursive act."[44] She succeeded in this by privileging sociology as the "master" discourse. At the end of the trilogy we know what sociology can do, if it is so privileged, but we are not any clearer on how sociology does it.

United States

While the British, as exemplified by Janet Wolff, were locked in their endless and self-sufficient theoreticist debates, their American counterparts were hard at work empirically counting heads and objects and illuminating how the "peopled" worlds of art go about their business in specific social settings. A revival of phenomenological philosophy with its concern to make sense of the social world — propelled by the publication of Berger and Luckmann's *The Social Construction of Reality* in 1967 along with ethnography's emphasis on "lived" worlds and values and Howard Becker's subcultural theories — became the convergent basis for a sociological study of art that was empirical and avoided broad theoretical questions. It developed into a recognizable approach that became known as the "production of culture" and that emphasized institutional processes, processes that Americans have had good practice at in their examination of families, political parties, social networks, and so forth American sociologists were neither concerned with nor influenced by the theoretical questions developed by the Frankfurt School expatriates on matters of subjectivity and the ideological work of the media.

Arnold Hauser's attempt to link social institutions with stylistic features in the four volumes of The Social History of Art[45] directly influenced many sociologists who saw arts organizations as another instance of a general class of institutions to be analyzed in general terms.[46] Howard Becker's work on the sociology of art developed "a reasonable sociological perspective on art that further extends the general implications of labelling and exchange theories ... by demonstrating that art making is indeed an ordinary activity, involving social cooperation and social choices, and he has helped to legitimate its study within the discipline of sociology while retaining levels with humanistic scholarship."[47] Following his lead, the arts organizations were "peopled" by artists whose socialization, training, work settings and relationships, career contingencies, and patronage became the focus of many studies.[48] Studies of how an art object might be used in a specific manner to demonstrate a special social distinction following Bourdieu's notion of "cultural capital" were done, as well studies that might indicate the range of ideas and behaviours dominant in a social setting at any given time.[49] However, few inquiries focused on the general public's and especially the art patron's influence on stylistic changes.[50]

Howard Becker in his seminal essay "Art as Collective Action"[51] describes the division of labour that takes place in any art world in order for artistic value and artistic production to occur. It requires cooperation among the various specialists or gatekeepers. All these specialists such as dealers, critics, and patrons, operate under a system of aesthetic principles that legitimates the established division of labour, acts as the basis for aesthetic judgement, and effect, the outcome of the stylistic innovations in any art world.

Becker's Art Worlds[52] is an examination of art as a social institution, and is really a revamped, illustrated combination of the above-mentioned essay and his "Art Worlds as Social Types,"[53] with a healthy amount of influence from Raymonde Moulin's Le Marché de la Peinture en France.[54] Becker argues against the central importance given to the artist as creator in favour of an institutional approach to art, examining art as a collective action. He focuses on photography and music and demonstrates how so-called artistic revolutions are but mobilizations of resources of a political nature in the struggle for place, fame, and/or financial success. He defines an art world as "the network of people whose cooperative activity organized via their joint knowledge of conventional means of doing things produces the kind of art works that the art world is noted for."[55] These art worlds are populated by artists, consumers, audiences, art products, and a large number of intermediators or gatekeepers, such as dealers, agents, critics, and a variety of bureaucrats, whose sole role is to filter out and process the art objects from artists to consumers. His treatment of art not much different from other kinds of works gave him the flexibility to go through the examination of many art worlds quickly and efficiently. There is an eloquence to his argument which flows from his ahistorical approach, an approach that becomes disturbing and limited, however, as one attends to the historical and artistic specificity of any of the events, the processes that take place, and the participant-actors of his art worlds. His art world is a metaphor, not unlike social organization or social structure, and, as Becker says about the latter two, "we should not forget that metaphors inadvertently assert as a fact implied in the metaphor what can only be discovered through research."[56]

Art Worlds includes a comprehensive discussion of painting in its chapter on distribution, which relies heavily on Moulin's study of French painting. The dealers, critics, curators and major collectors are those who control and constrain the artists by checking the flow of products from the painting studios to the consumers. Becker suggests:

> "Dealers, critics and collectors develop a consensus about the worth of a work and how it can be appreciated. When that happens, we may say that the dealer has created or trained an audience for the work he handles, an audience as cultivated with respect to that body of work as an Italian nobleman or pope was with respect to baroque painting. They know and understand it, and the painter can paint for them, sure in the knowledge that they will appreciate his insights, wit, and technical achievements."[57]

As can be seen, these gatekeepers of the art world occupy a very powerful position that world.

Many peculiar problems arise in the world of art between dealers and artists. They emanate from differences in their economic interests and the artists' lack of knowledge of the art market. The gallery's business is dependent on the condition of the economy and the owner/manager's business expertise; and sometimes dealers are not able to pay their artists or their suppliers on time, or even pay them at all. When this happens, artists who have achieved a degree of reputation in the art world may leave their dealers for other galleries. Artists, in general, want their reputation and prices to go up rapidly so that they can benefit economically as early as possible. However, dealers may want to hold back some promising works in order to collect higher prices later. The artists are after immediate success, the dealers are after long-term good standing and reputation. This inherently contradictory symbiosis creates an ambivalent and uncertain relationship, constantly changing the balance of power in the art world. Success for a dealer is a matter of maintaining a balance between keeping their business stable and creating the conditions that will allow "their" artists to produce paintings on a regular basis.

Although Becker's insistence on excluding discussion of the "aesthetic" from his research led to a plethora of epigones,[58] some of whom pay homage to him directly (and many, many more who fail to do so), the deficiencies of this approach did not go unnoticed:

> "Yet in redressing the balance between individual creativity and the social organization of art, the book occasionally tilts too far. We are informed that 'ideas and visions are important, but their success and permanence rest on organization, not on their intrinsic worth'. Well, all right: but I doubt very much that anyone could have "organized" the reputation of Joyce or Yeats .... How close, really, are the poet with his stubby pencil and the back-of-the envelope and, say, the symphonic conductor?"[59]

For Vytautas Kavolis,

> It is a distortion of the matter at hand to view art solely from the standpoint of the sociology of occupations ... Worse than ideological bias and the deformation of understanding it promotes is Becker's casual, illustrative scholarship, his systematic avoidance of an exhaustive investigation especially of the cultural

> dimensions of the life of art ... Even an empirical sociology of art requires a deeper thrust into the problems of art, a more comprehensive view of culture than either symbolic interactionism, or labelling theory, or ethnomethodology, will ever be capable of providing."[60]

And an unknown reviewer observes: "At best, the author makes one aware of those aspects of the art world that are often thought of as extraneous to artistic production and critical acclaim, but are in fact, necessary and determining. At worst, he belabours the trivial and obvious."[61]

Despite Howard Becker's insistence that sociology avoids aesthetic questions and limits itself to those appropriate to it, that is, the designing of empirical studies that examine art as just another form of work, his discussions of the influence of aesthetic doctrines and ideologies of the art world on such aspects as the routinization of work, the legitimation of conventions and standards, career advancement, and the establishment of new markets has been influential in many sociological studies of art worlds, particularly Michal McCall's "Art without a Market: Creating Artistic Value — in a Provincial Art World," Marcia Bystryn's "Art Galleries as Gatekeepers," and Michael Mulkay's and Elizabeth Chaplin's "Aesthetics and the Artistic Career: A Study of Anomie in Fine-Art Painting."[62]

In "Art Galleries as Gatekeepers" Marcia Bystryn examines the role some galleries played in the establishment of Abstract Expressionism as a major art school in New York in the 1940s and 1950s. On the basis of secondary sources, she examines the roles of Betty Parsons and Sam Kootz in the sponsorship and promotion of the abstract painters of the New York School. Bystryn conducts an organizational analysis of the art market and a close inquiry into the roles and relationships both within and between the galleries. Galleries in an art market are organizations specifically set up to filter the amount, style, and quality of works of art from the input sector, or artistic community, to the output sector, which includes art critics, dealers, curators, and other museum and gallery personnel, and ultimately the consumer — the "gatekeepers," as she calls them. Describing the decision that these two galleries made to promote the Abstract Expressionists, Bystryn in the process describes how the new style was developed and how New York because the new centre of art production and consumption, the New Paris.

Michal McCall examines the art world of painting in St. Louis. Basing his work on Becker's definition of an art world as an "on-going, much-situated social act" and operating within a symbolic interactionist perspective, he defines paintings as "social objects whose value is almost entirely created in the social acts called art worlds."[63]

St. Louis is a marginal art market where artistic value is mostly negotiated through the faculty of arts schools. What he found is that two painting worlds existed: the proper "art" world controlled by the artistic faculty of the schools, and the other, the "picture painting" world, controlled by artists who paint pictures for people's walls and who belong to various artistic associations. Because neither of these worlds is recognized nationally, neither creates artistic value,[64] and both remain rather marginal, local art world/markets.

Michael Mulkay and Elizabeth Chaplin base their research on Becker's "Art as a Collective Action" and conduct an empirical study of the relationship between aesthetic evaluation, collective action, and artistic success. Specifically, they examine documentary evidence from the published reviews on Jackson Pollock, following the process of his success as the leading painter of Abstract Expressionism in its early years. They devised three models of artistic success: the model of aesthetic appraisal, the model of social influence, and the model of cultural persuasion. The authors assumed that only one of these models predominates in practice, and proceeded to construct the most appropriate categories by which the work of an artist may be evaluated: artistic lineage, colour, design, expression and control, artistic retention and ability to communicate. They examined all references to Pollock from 1942 to 1949, in the belief that the writers of these articles express their evaluation of Pollock; in this way the researchers could categorize the consensus and change of opinion over time. They concluded that the model of "social influence" was most applicable and Pollock's success occurred with little aesthetic argument as a result of concerted action on his behalf by influential members of the New York art world."[65]

But, one of the most curious and interesting epigones of a sociology of art à la Becker is Liah Greenfeld's _Different Worlds: A Sociological Study of Taste, Choice and Success in Art_[66] which is an examination of Israeli painting, and was presented by the publisher as a case study in the sociology of art. It is curious because the only sociologist mentioned in the study is Max Weber — and this only in passing in the introduction — and interesting because although it purports to be a case study in the sociology of art, none of the sociologists who have written in the area are ever mentioned, not even Howard Becker, though this book aptly illustrates his theories on art worlds:

> This book is a sociological study of stylistic changes, patterns of success, judgement and taste in two art worlds: the world of abstract avant-garde art, and the world of figurative painting, which is aesthetically traditional. The two art worlds are the two subsystems in the social structure of Israeli painting. This case study in the sociology of art is meant for anyone interested in culture and society ... The central problem of the book is a Weberian one of the interaction between different systems of values (or ideologies broadly defined) and social structures, and of the effects of these ideologies on the structures and on the social behaviour of people acting within them. It is concerned with the social implications of, on the one hand, ideologies which treat conflicting set of values as equal, precluding the formation of commitment to any one of them and, on the other hand, of ideologies in themselves representing a commitment to one or another set of values ... With this target in mind it depicts a complete system in which art is created and evaluated, taking into account its artists, "gatekeepers" (such as curators, critics and dealers, who mediate between artists and the public), government officials responsible for the allocation of government support for art and the public of this art.[67]

Greenfeld claims to approach the sociology of art from a Weberian perspective; although she does not deviate very much from his construction of ideal types, value neutrality, and extensive use of statistical data, the book is really an illustration of what Howard Becker would have produced had he studied Israeli painting.

By her own account, the data used comes from the biographies of 477 painters who had achieved some success between 1920 and 1980; interviews with twenty critics, countless members of the public, and original material consisting of articles, reviews and catalogues, etc. But her systematic avoidance of any socio-political history - after all neither the establishment of the State of Israel nor the subsequent wars make Israel a case like France or the United States - coupled with her avoidance of the current themetical debates within sociology of art regarding issues of gender or ethnicity, makes her final description of an art world one without history and its artists without biographies, its art objects without descriptions or photographs. Over and over we read quote after quote prefaced by "a Realist painter says: "what I do in art, I do for myself. If a gallery is willing to exhibit and people willing to buy - all the better. Fortunately it pays, but for me it could as well not pay".[68] Is this artist a man or a woman? Does he/she have another job? Is he/she young or old? Israeli or Arab? We don't know. Other times it is easier to make assumptions as to the gender of the artist both from the quote and the author's preface: "A *prominent* surrealist says: 'subjects are not important for me. The subject is only an excuse for painting. The function of art [for an artist] *is to eternalize his genius*. When I create I try to convert matter into spirit and thereby to fight destruction, death and dilapidation of myself. I eternalize my personality as an artist[69] (italics mine). We can safely assume this prominent artist is male but how do his paintings differ, say, from lyrical paintings, or fee figurative or naïve for that matter? Greenfeld has created her own taxonomy[70] of styles which makes sorting out the differences between them difficult without photographs. In her brief discussion of conceptual art we read a review of a series of performances by some artists who dealt with the issue of Arab-occupied lands at the Tel-Aviv Museum in 1975, but nowhere do we find any reference to Miriam Shapiro or other feminist artists who were active at that time not only in Israel but also abroad; or any mention of Israeli Arabs and their work. Her own statistical tables raise some interesting questions about choice of style by men versus women, rate of exhibit, age of success attainment,and other topics that are never picked up or explained in the discussions.[71]

> The behavior of the groups composing the two subsystems in both cases was directly related to the sets of beliefs and values to which they subscribed - ideologies of the artists, and, in the avant-garde system, of "gatekeepers," and less articulated outlooks or perspectives of the public and, in the case of the market, the dealers. These sets of beliefs and values in the two art worlds were not simply different; they too belonged to essentially different types of values: values that were capable of creating cognitive order, and values that could only lead to its confusion. The common characteristic of the ideology of abstract avant-garde artists and the relativist perspective of their public was that both demanded the absolute freedom of choice between different value-systems and lacked criteria one could use to choose. This lack of internal guidelines was directly conducive to "social" behavior. In distinction, both artistic ideology and the outlook of the public and the dealers in the other system encouraged commitment to particular sets of values and contained standards of judgement. In this case the internal guide-lines were present and rational behavior was possible. Through these fundamentally different types of behavior, the ideologists and outlooks, which in our case perfectly corresponded and reinforced each other, created entirely different social structures and affected social relations between different groups in the two systems formed around them.[72]

How does one go from the epigones of Howard Becker to the everyday life of an art world? Via Janet Wolff one might venture: her arguments are not a-historical; she does not pretend that no-one else has ever written on art in sociology, and she is committed to assembling a "set of tools and theories that help us to understand the arts better."[73] — except that the set of tools never materialize and the rules of the game change with every publication.

Following Wolff's arguments in the order that her books have been published, what becomes immediately apparent is her ability to summarize received theories and explain the nature and meaning of those theories; but once her summaries have been digested, what strikes one is that with every book, Wolff kept her commitment to assemble the "set of tools" but each time the way she goes about it is totally different: hermeneutic understanding (1975) ideological explanation (1981) sociology's superiority in matters aesthetic (1983). Why does she keep jumping from one approach to another? Is it because sociology must accept its limitations as Becker has been claiming all along, or is it because Wolff's ambivalence stems from ignorance of the constitutive elements characteristic of the different arts that she uses interchangeably? Janet Wolff is very convincing when she speaks of rescuing the "aesthetic" from the mystifications of bourgeois aesthetic practices and sociological reductionism, as long as she remains on the level of abstracted discursive activity; but, when she ventures into concrete discussion of art - production, reception, appreciation - then her statements become actually even more mystifying than any discussion of bourgeois aesthetics:

> In the first place, there is the well-known problem (perhaps, first raised by Marx in his unsatisfactory [in what way?] reflections on why Greek art still appealed to nineteenth-century audiences) of the persistence of some works beyond the operation of their own social and ideological structures. However, attempts can be made to explain this within the theory of ideology: different ideological readings, [but somehow providing similar reactions?], or sufficient similarities in class divisions [?], and so on [as in where?]. Secondly, many kinds of work do not seem amenable to sociological analysis [do aesthetics take precedence then, or is analysis dropped all together?] (chamber music and abstract art, for instance) [How so?], except in the sense of examining the social conditions of their appearance and success ... Thirdly, there is then a problem

> when we discover that work pronounced [by whom?] to be enjoyable, technically excellent, or in some other way "aesthetically" good. This is less likely to occur, of course, [?] in the case of abstract painting (whose ideology in any case [?] takes a considerable amount of analytical effort to elicit) [by a sociologist or an aesthetician, a member of the general audience?] than in the case of, say, a fascist novel [only a sociologist would compare a painting with a fascist novel]. Two examples which come to mind are, first, the classical ballet, many of whose major works of repertory are based on reactionary and sexist [not to say silly] stories, and secondly, the paintings of Emile Nolde, a German expressionist painter who was a Nazi sympathiser. It so happens that my critical [read: sociological] "reading" of those ballets does interfere with my enjoyment of their performance, though it is still possible to appreciate skill, design and choreography of parts of the works [where does this enjoyment and ability originate?], whereas in the latter case the extraneous knowledge does not affect my appreciation of Nolde's paintings [is it because "silly" is critically more correct than "fascist"?] Since it does not, what is it that I am appreciating? [what indeed?][74]

Where does Wolff fall short then? Is it her lack of knowledge of specific art forms? Or, is it her privileging of the sociological discourse over others, or her insistence of no other reality for the aesthetic (experience and value) outside the discursive act? "Criticism, and the history of art and literature, then, are ideological, both in the sense that they originate and are practised in particular social conditions, and that the mark of those conditions, and in the sense that they systematically obscure and deny these very determinants and origins."[75]

Further, although Wolff is adamantly opposed to Raymond Williams' and Peter Fuller's appropriation of Sebastiano Timpamaro's psychoanalytic theories of art, whenever she ventures into specific discussion of art - 'which is seldom' - the evidence she gives in support of the existence of the aesthetic[76] is gained form personal, intuitive experience. Tony Hincks, who to date has given the only indepth review of Janet Wolff's work on the sociology of art[77], makes a strong case by ascribing Wolff's problems to the fact that instead of recognizing the existence of a dialectic between reality and discourse, she defines reality as discourse:

> "Unless we admit to some objective bases to the aesthetic outside the discursive act, then the aesthetic value and aesthetic experience are purely discursive creations, albeit tinged with ideological interest ... The autonomy given to the discourse, rather than freeing aesthetic value form determinism and relativism, establishes it as synonymous with the discursive act ... The aesthetic experience has to be viewed as a having a basis outside discourse, otherwise, how can it inform discourse".[78]

Before we move on to other authors in search for the elusive aesthetic, we should recapitulate some of the many points made. The first generation of sociologists of art in Europe and in North America important work in formulating a basis for further research despite their being limited by too general, almost intuitive discussions of art and society and limited sociological imprint. The second generation has taken a more sociologically grounded approach. One of the major differences between American and British sociologists is the way in which they formulate their questions and the goals and tasks they set out for themselves, although a clear debate has not surfaced between the two models of discourse on art. Both sides appear to be self-sufficient; they rarely display an interest in each other's work in order to find a common ground or render their efforts and methods more consistent. The two authors just examined, Howard Becker and Janet Wolff, best exemplify the difference in temperament in their theoretical generalizations/historical concerns and commitment to sociology of art as practised on their respective sides on the Atlantic.

Howard Becker, by borrowing the concept of the art world[79] from the philosophy of art, was able to put forward a conventional, ahistorical sociology of art which although expansive, contributes little to empirical research. On the other hand, Janet Wolff, falling prey to the endless debates with theoreticist Marxism, produced a conceptual account of the aesthetic which enabled her to argue both for and against its inclusion in the sociology of art.

She was not alone in her predicament; she, like other intellectuals on the left, was still heeding Perry Anderson's call to develop a general theory that would deliver Britain from its "negative" status of having failed to produce a classical sociology. In addition Wolff's minimal empirical research on a case study of nineteenth-century Manchester (1982) was not helped at all by the intellectual output of the new left art historians, who also stressed theorizing and general discussions of ideology, class, and methodology. Ironically, despite their adherence to rigorous theorization and establishment of new approaches to the history of art, leftist art historians remain resolutely within the site of nineteenth-century painting of the bourgeois "masters" from T.J. Clark and Nikos Hadjinicolaou to Griselda Pollock, all of whom were lumped together by Wolff as Marxists even though their "Marxisms" differed widely, as did the Marxisms of John Berger and Peter Fuller, whom she also treated similarly.

However, both Becker's conventionalism and Wolff's conceptualism are a "retreat into formalism, a formalism that denies the human capacity to transmute felt experience through communicative forms whose substance can convey feeling itself."[80] And although sociologists of art increasingly demand that discussions of the "specificity of the aesthetics"[81] be introduced to the sociological discourse along with the artists and the art objects, these discussions are either lost in the abstract formulas of structuralist analyses, or forcefully relegated to the subjectivist operational definitions of "artworlds" as "networks of people whose cooperative activity organized via their joint knowledge of conventional means by doing things produces the kind of art works the art world is noted for."[82] These worlds are populated not by real artists but artists as "social types" - integrated professionals, mavericks, naïve and folk artists; their art institutions too had no history - just a function in the overall organization — and the only art objects were seen on the dust jackets of the odd sociology book. The result of this activity was that the concepts of "artworld," along with "network"/"circle"/"coterie" began to be widely used by sociologists, art historians and critics. Some American sociologists of art in the 1970s assimilated network analysis, and produced work that did more for the case of network analysis itself than provide an object of study, or themes and issues for future research in the sociology of art.[83]

Has all this work been done for nothing? Not at all, says Paul DiMaggio, and I agree with him, especially regarding the work of Becker and Wolff:

> Becker and Wolff have produced two fine books that consolidate twenty years of activity in the American and European branches of the sociology of art. Wolff attends more seriously to relationships between art and historically developing economic structures and to the nature and meanings of texts; Becker

> provides a richer understanding of the way in which systems of support, distribution, and criticism shape the experience and action of the producers of works of art. Together these volumes vanquish the ideology of artistic genius and internalist accounts of progress in art; provide a wealth of insight into the production of art; and suggest (Wolff explicitly, Becker by example) the manner in which we should approach art's sociological study". Specifically, each analyzes the production of art as work, as a social construction in which many participate. Each defines art broadly, sees change in art as externally as well as internally determined, and argues against the central importance given the artist in conventional humanistic and some sociological treatments. Each begins with a discussion of art as collective action and an enumeration of the social factors that affect art's development. Each concludes with chapters on the social determination of reputation and the marginality of the artist to the production of art.[84]

Janet Wolff and Howard Becker have given us a good theoretical basis by which to understand the material and organizational aspects of art production and consumption. But the most important issue — that of artistic merit — is not only still unresolved but remains the most pressing issue facing the sociologist of art, as the raison d'être of all art worlds is the allocation and distribution of aesthetic value. The jury is still out on matters aesthetic: Is the aesthetic autonomous? If so, autonomous to what? How does this autonomy control or manifest itself in specific instances of aesthetic experience and evaluation? Does sociology have the last word and if so, should it? Is there a way out of this impasse?

There is indeed a way out of this impasse, and the general direction is again given by Janet Wolff in her highly reflexive introduction to _The Culture of Capital_. She admists that privileging sociology was an erroneous perspective and instead observes that privileging any discipline — its theories and/or methods — impedes the resolution of issues raised within the sociology of art. Janet Wolff now favours inter- and cross-disciplinary approaches, where empirical work and avoids the incessant debates that originated within the field of cultural studies of the 1970s, debates fought on meta-theoretical grounds and unable to provide imaginable frameworks for empirical research as well as the resolution of theoretical issues.

In her trilogy, Janet Wolff succeeded in demystifying artistic practice, employing a theorization of the aesthetic hanging in "an uneasy balance between determinism and autonomy, action with structure."[85] But although artistic practice has been demystified — however precariously — it has not been eliminated. While Wolff and other social scientists were involved in apparently endless debates about theoretical correctness, artists produced all sorts of art and the gatekeepers continuously appropriated aesthetic styles. If appropriation of aesthetic value and consecration of artists is the raison d'être of the contemporary art world, it is important that the sociologists of art continue to look for the elusive aesthetic. But where? And assuming we locate the site, how are we then to conceptualize the aesthetic and how it links to discourse and the institutional practices of art? How can we expound a course of action that is sociological proper without losing sight of the meaningful character of artistic practice, which is the object of this investigation? Tony Hincks provides an answer to Wolff's own self-created dilemma[86] suggesting that aesthetic value constitutes an existential certainty prior to theorization, and with which Wolff finds certainty of the reality of the aesthetic:

> The question also arises of the relevance of Wolff's own aesthetic receptivity, for aesthetic experience is grasped intuitively and, thus, is a form of knowledge

> that lies outside the reach of both sociological and aesthetic discourse, being itself a non-discursive act. If the aesthetic experience is seen as theorizable, it must follow that the adequacy of any theorization, aesthetic or sociological, can be validated to the extent that the theorization conforms to the reality of the aesthetic experience itself; in which case the discourse does have a reference outside itself. It is this pre-discursive knowledge that Wolff herself was to test the adequacy of the sociology of art's theorization; but how can this be — unless an objectivity is posited outside of the discourse, in which case the higher objectivity Wolff sees to be found in the interplay of perspectives may be more properly sought in the empirical world? Unless we admit to some objective bases to the aesthetic outside of the discursive act, then aesthetic value and aesthetic experience are purely discursive creations, albeit tinged with ideological intent. The autonomy given to the discourse, rather than freeing aesthetic value from determinism and relativism, establishes it as synonymous with the discursive act.[87]

Wolff's numerous discussions of the "specificity," and the "autonomy" (relative or otherwise) of the aesthetic were part of the Althusserian currency that was widely used in Britain during the heydays of cultural studies, studies that followed Althusser's adaptations of Marx's theories of base and superstructure, adaptations that were meant to escape economic reductionism.

In the Culture of Capital, Janet Wolff distanced herself from such an approach and in her latest publication, Feminist Sentences: Essays on Women and Culture[88] she speaks only once of aesthetic autonomy, and this time only to characterize it on the "myth" uncovered by literary scholars who have employed sociological methods in their work; that is,

> Their readings of texts have been sociological to the extent that they grasp literary representation on ideological (in the sense of being constituted by meanings, conventions, and forms of narrative which are systematically related to socio-structural factors and extra-aesthetic power relations). Also sociological is that work by literary scholars which has helped to expose the mechanisms by

> which the very structures of the literary establishments (journals, criticism, educational institutions) combine to construct the myth of aesthetic autonomy.[89]

Her book reflects a critical review of feminist theories and cultural politics and once again stressing that "what is still missing is an approach which investigates _both_ texts _and_ institutions."[90]

Is the autonomy of the aesthetic mythical or real? If we are to step out of the domain of the discursive act, where and how do we step out? In fact, we are stepping out into the realm of nature. Although some might argue that we are stepping out of sociology, Norbert Elias would insist that this division between nature and society is but another one of the _artifices_ of institutionalized knowledge that muddies up rather than clarifies issues:

> The theories of knowledge which, broadly speaking, since Descartes have dominated the field, have the appearance of universal theories covering the whole field of human knowledge, but they are in fact almost exclusively concerned with a narrowly selected type of knowledge. They see this limited field in the light of a human image which makes people appear as individuals without society, as people who can say I and not We or You, as humans of the _homo clausus_ type. Artifices of this kind make it possible to keep theories of knowledge, of language, and of thought, as it were, in separate compartments. As a result, they have usually little to say with regard to the ontological status of knowledge, to the question as to what knowledge actually is. In the manner of the time one might accept a sharply polarized answer to this question, an answer using alternative terms such as: nature or society, materialism or idealism. A closer look at the nature of language however, has already shown that in certain respects human beings cannot be conceptually divided and polarized in this manner. Language, as emerged, is one of the missing links between nature and society or culture. Humans, one might say, are by nature made for culture and society.[91]

Following Elias's perspective on the social status of knowledge, one can infer that art's existence, like that of any other symbolic dimension, presupposes the resolution of the nature/society polarization: analytically, aesthetic value, and experience are distinct from society in the same way that society is distinct from nature. Cornelius Castoriadis can shed a more effective light in this discussion; in his critique of "inherited thought," he questioned the emphasis and validity of the western European tradition, which has assumed that "to be" has only one meaning, "to be determined," leaving for the imaginary the only possible meaning, of being a mere reflection of what already exists "out there." Castioriadis describes the common-sense understanding of the imaginary as follows: "We speak of the imaginary when we wish to speak of something 'invented' — be it 'absolute' invention (a story invented from scratch) or a slippage or displacement of meaning in which already existing symbols are invested with significations other than their 'normal' or orthodox significations."[92] For Castoriadis, the imaginary "is to be conceived of primarily as the *creative core* of the socio-historical and psychic worlds, as the element which creates *ex nihilo* the figures and forms that rend 'the world' and 'what is' possible."[93] Without the imaginary, the constitution of our motives/needs, the orientation of the social institutions, and the existence of myths, symbolism, and tradition become meaningless. The "radical imaginary" is our capacity to create an image of something that has never existed, and the "actual imaginary," or the imagined, is the product of this creative capacity. The domain of the imaginary is the domain of action, and although all action is dependent on some form of knowledge, this knowledge is neither exhaustive nor absolute: we act in more or less conscious manner according to the project at hand and in accordance with the competence of those involved. An institution's source is none other than the social imaginary, and so when Castoriadis talks of the "imaginary institution" of society, he means that the institution is not 'real' in any determinate sense, nor is it 'unreal', nor does it conform to the distinctions between 'true' and 'false', 'rational' and 'irrational'. Instead it is through the 'radical imaginary' as operative in the 'imaginary institution' of society that these distinctions are acquired and acquire meaning. The most important aspect of the 'institution' is its capacity to engender significations, which in turn become the "hinge" between the socio-historical and its theories. Signs exist as "imaginary creators instituted _ex nihilo_ but not so the objects; objects have referrals which are "pre-real," since "reality" comes to exist in society through the establishment of objects. And finally, individuals and the socio-historical world (the world of human action of "doing" — _faire_) are essentially open, "that is to say, both are prey to the possible eruption of what appears beyond the parameters of possibility, and they exist as a potentially infinite variety of types and forms of societies, social objects and individuals."[94]

This infinite variety of social imaginary significations are a _magma_ of meanings which is neither organized nor logically structured. Through a series of historical examples discussed, Castoriadis attempts to demonstrate how the central imaginary significations of a given society "are far from being mere epiphenomena of 'real' forces and relations of production, are the laces which tie a society together and the forms which define what, for a given society, is 'real'."[95] I propose that we see Wolff's elusive aesthetic as belonging to the "radical imaginary" and the aesthetic discourse and its cultural institutionalization as its "actual imaginary," thus resolving her impasse between idealism and determinism and explaining how the latter was an integral part of the historical *leap* of rationalization that took place in nineteenth-century Europe. Castoriadis observes:

> "It is doubtful that one can directly grasp this fundamental phantasm; at best it can be reconstructed from its manifestations because it appears in effect as the foundation of the possibility and the unity of everything that makes up the singularity of the subject in a manner that is other than simply and purely contributory, of everything which, in the life of the subject, goes beyond its reality and its history; it is the ultimate condition permitting the *surging forth of a reality and a history for the subject*."[96]

This active foundation/ontological first principle, which is totally unmotivated becomes the unificatory ground on which every individual and every society becomes what they are. Castoriadis provides the following examples of the "radical imagination":

> Consider, as an example, God. Whatever the support his representation may find in the perceptual, whatever this representation's rational efficacy as an organizational principle for certain cultures, God is not a signification of either the real or the rational; nor is he a symbol of something else. But that then is God — not as a theological concept or philosophical idea — but for us, when we try to imagine what he is for those who believe him? They can evoke him, they may refer to him, but not without the aid of symbols, be it only his "name" — and yet God for them, and for us when considering the historical phenomenon constituted by God and by the faithful, indefinitely transcends this "name." God *is* this something else; he is not the name nor the images a people give themselves of him, nor anything similar. Conveyed and indicated by all these symbols, he is what in each religion makes these symbols into religious symbols. He is a central *signification*, one that organizes signifiers and signifieds into a

> system, upholds their intersecting unity, and allows their extension, multiplication, and modification. And this signification, which corresponds to neither something perceived (real) nor something thought (rational), is an imaginary signification.[97]
>
> Let us consider the Mosaic religion. Like every religion, it is central to an imaginary. As a religion it must establish rites, and as an institution it must surround itself with sanctions. But it can exist neither as a religion nor as an institution if it does not begin developing a *second imaginary* around the *central imaginary*. God created the world in seven days (six plus one). Why seven? One can interpret this number in Freudian terms; and one can relate it to any number of facts or customs. But however it be interpreted, this terrestrial determination ("real" perhaps, but perhaps already imaginary), once exported to heavens, is reimported in the form of the week and its sanctification. The seventh day is now a day of rest and worship. Consequences, innumerable consequences, begin to proliferate.[98]

Having grounded the "aesthetic" on the natural stratum, we are now ready to begin elucidating and following its constitution within the institutions of art. This grounding will explain the existence of the transhistorical and transcultural phenomena of the anthropology of art as well as the specific form that the institution of art would to take in Western Europe, beginning with the historical discontinuities of the Italian Renaissance (See chapter 5). What the institution of art finds in this grounding is "a series of conditions, points of support and stimulation, likes, and obstacles."[99] And the institution of art, like all other institutions does not involve "discovery" says Castoriadis, but active constitution:

> The Athenians did not find democracy among the flowers growing wild by the Pnyx, and the Parisian workers did not unearth the Commune while digging up the flagstones of the boulevards. Nor did either of them "discover" these institutions in the sky of ideas, after having inspected all possible forms of government neatly displaced from all eternity. They invented something that certainly proved viable in the circumstances, but which also, once it was

> established, modified these circumstances, and indeed continues, twenty-five centuries or a hundred years later, to be "present" in history.[100]

His discussion showed how "the imaginary," as the ability to think the impossible, was the creative core behind the establishing of a religious and poetical discourse; in an analogous manner, we can imagine a parallel establishing for the aesthetic discourse and the instituting of art. Castoriadis makes the following observation on art: "Art does not discover, it constitutes; and the relation of what it constitutes to the 'real', while certainly very complex, is not one of verification."[101] But how are we to deal with the instituted and established? In order to build an empirical framework for the examination of a contemporaneous art world (both established and constituted) without abandoning the freedom provided by Castoriadis' "imaginary in the culture/agency interface," I propose that we shift our attention to Pierre Bourdieu, specifically his concepts of *field*, *habitus*, and *symbolic capital*.

Cornelius Castoriadis' work does not have the same intellectual influence as that of Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu is mostly known to Anglo-Saxon social science from his research on education and his best known work, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, a study that has received almost unanimous favour among English-language reviewers,[102] although its reception among European critics was far from equally favourable.

In my appropriation of Bourdieu's perspective,[103] I will concentrate on his notions of "*field*"/"*habitus*"/"*symbolic capital*" because I am convinced that they can provide me with the necessary scaffolding, a sort of provisional constitution which will allow me both a synchronic/diachronic examination of an art world and an exit to different solutions appropriate to the problem raised by the specific case of Edmonton's art world. Such frameworks obviously are necessary for empirical research, as they define the ground rules or the constitutional make-up without which one cannot even begin the task of research and the interpretation of one's findings. Whether or not Pierre Bourdieu's version of French structuralism's analysis is the "correct" one is of no interest to me. Using Bourdieu's understanding of fields as fields of power and meaning, then a "correct" interpretation is understood as a "position" in which a positioned subject has "personal stakes," and because his detractors' stakes are not my own, I see no need to take sides with them. Pierre Bourdieu will be my Diogenes's lantern in the chapters ahead; I will also take the opportunity to "open" up the boundaries of the discipline by the following two ideas: (a) Norbert Elias's[104] notion that language is the "missing link between nature and society or culture" will provide the justification for allowing into my argument feminist theories of "embodied" knowledge, of nature and culture being written in our bodies, and (b) Castoriadis' domain of the "radical imaginary" will be viewed as Pierre Bourdieu's domain of "practical logic."

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Vera Zolberg's *Constructing a Sociology of the Arts*[1] is another attempt by a sociologist to bind together disparate approaches to the arts in a more or less coherent manner in order to claim that the sociology of the arts has arrived and is ready to claim its "comfortable niche" within the discipline. The result is a forced packaging — not unlike my own in Chapter 2 — and an admission by the author that, despite her efforts, "neither a partial closure nor a tentative synthesis" has been achieved. She calls for a collaboration between humanist scientists, whom she identifies as art historians, critics, and philosophers of art, along with social scientists, in the hope of constructing an interpretive framework that will do justice to the study of artistic phenomena as well as secure that niche for the sociology of art.

Sociologists have studied the arts, some following positivist approaches, others qualitative approaches; some have relied on art historical/philosophical texts, others have ignored history altogether; some have sacrificed empirical knowledge in favour of theoretical integrity (Wolff), and others have abandoned general theory altogether (Becker). However narrow the disciplinary commitment or wide the disciplinary border-crossings, sociologists have accepted uncritically the problematic nature of concepts such as "art", and "art object," and the coherence or lack thereof of the definitions, categories and methodologies borrowed from such disciplines as art history and aesthetics. For Howard Becker it would be "an idle exercise" to develop "an aesthetic in the world of sociology,"[2] and in Janet Wolff's view, to allow aesthetic discussions in sociology is to either collapse "artistic merit into political correctness" or "retain some aspects of a universal, timeless aesthetic quality which it is difficult to defend" — she declares an agnostic stand on this issue in the hope that "it does not impair the arguments of this book."[3]

It is apparent, then, that we need to devise a theoretical model that will respect the integrity of sociological arguments about the structure of social relations while also allowing examination of the coherence (conventionality) of the borrowed categories of "art," "art object," and "beauty" as they are produced by the institutions of art and reproduced by the artists (critics, curators, dealers) working within these pre-established traditions. I propose that Pierre Bourdieu's treatment of artistic fields is this interface between general theory and empirical practice.

Pierre Bourdieu first introduced the concept of "field" in his 1966 essay "Intellectual Field and Creative Project"; "*field*" is the translation for *champ* and, as translations go, is "semantically undercoded,"[4] although Bourdieu's definition, as we shall see below, is a very technical and specific one. When he wrote the essay, Bourdieu was reacting to a popular form of structuralist literary criticism that was content simply to show the structural relations between cultural production and social conditions and that left/showed the artists powerless, which was not how Bourdieu saw artists. In long and carefully crafted sentences he has defined the intellectual field:

> The *intellectual field*, which cannot be reduced to a simple aggregate of isolated agents or to the sum of elements merely juxtaposed, is, like a magnetic field, made up of a system of power lines. In other words, the constituting agents or systems of agents may be described as so many forces which by their existence, opposition or combination, determine its specific structure at a given moment in time. In return, each of these is defined by its particular position within this field from which it derives *positional properties* which cannot be assimilated to intrinsic properties and more especially, a specific type of participation in the *cultural field* taken as a system of relations between themes and problems, and thus a determined type of *cultural unconscious*, while at the same time it intrinsically possesses what could be called a *functional weight*, because its own "mass," that is, its power (or better, its authority) in the field cannot be defined independently of its position within it.[5]
>
> As the areas of human activity became more clearly differentiated, an intellectual order in the true sense, dominated by a particular legitimacy, began to define itself in opposition to the economic, political and religious powers, that is all the authorities who could claim the right to legislate on cultural matters in the name of a power or authority which was not properly speaking intellectual.[6]
>
> The existence of a "literary and artistic market" makes possible the establishment of a body of properly intellectual professions — either by appearance of new roles or by existing roles taking on new functions — that is, the creation of a real field in the form of a system of relations built up between the agents of the system of intellectual production.[7]
>
> But it is in and through the whole system of social relations which the creator maintains with the entire complex of agents who compose the intellectual field at any given moment of time ... that the progressive objectivization of the creative intention is achieved, and the *public meaning* of the work and of the author is established by which the author is defined and in relation to which he must define himself. To inquire into the origins of this public meaning is to ask oneself who judges and who consecrates, and how the selection process operates so that out of the undifferentiated and undefined mass of works which are produced and even published, there emerge works which are worthy of being loved, admired, preserved and consecrated.[8]

Although "The Intellectual Field and Creative Project" introduced the concept of "*field*," it was neither the last nor the definitive essay; Bourdieu kept refining his treatments of it according to his changing intellectual goals.[9] At first he wanted to counter the inertia to which artists were condemned by the prevailing structuralist literary criticism; he then moved on to examining the relations between fields and their hierarchization in order to both examine how one sort of capital is converted to another and what the role of the education field is in this conversion; later he focused on the protection of culture as opposed to its reception; and then moved from examining fields as subjects of study, that is "curriculum fodder"[10] to become interested in them as social phenomena. But regardless of his meandering and slight changes, the core of the concept of "*field*" and its affiliate concepts has proven to be an excellent empirical tool that allows a researcher to map the structure of any given field (scientific, intellectual, artistic) and also to identify the actors/agents and their actions in it — as it did for Bourdieu in his examination of literature, painting, religion, education, publishing, and so on.

In all fields there are some commonalities: they date back to the modernization of western Europe; their structure is the outcome of autonomization and differentiation of disciplines; their hierarchization is a result of the "specificity" that the field attained through the creation of its own laws/logic/ideology and the subsequent institutional structure; and their reproduction depends on successful institutional struggles to control both the generation of ideologies and their effective control and reproduction. Any field is part of the wider field of cultural production, which is the field that gives shape to all other fields — it is a structure of structures. Once a field is in place, it functions as structure and its agents have the power to name schools of thought/genres of art and to import value to them; within each field there are agents competing with each other for legitimation; and finally, there are also struggles taking place within collectivities of agents for legitimation. What clearly emanates from the careful tracking of Bourdieu's treatment of artistic fields or any other field is the "arbitrariness of their genesis,"[11] that there is nothing necessary about the existence of these fields and their institutions and no others: "Regardless of whether Bourdieu's beliefs or convictions can be said to be identical to our own, there can be no denying that his many investigations and speculations cry out to be imitated or adapted in respect of social phenomena outside France."[12] Before I begin to adapt Bourdieu's research to Edmonton, though, additional elaboration on his concept of an "artistic field" is warranted.

The artistic field is populated by agents (artists, actors, authors, writers, dealers, critics, directors, publishers, etc.), and institutions (galleries, museums, academies, etc.); it is a site of artistic ***prise de position*** (position takings or stances) that is possible at any given period in any given art world/artistic field (genres, schools, styles, subjects, manners, etc.); the position takings or stances arise from the encounters between particular agents' dispositions, that is their ***habitus***, which refers to a system of acquired schemes that become practically effective as categories of perception and evaluation, as principles of classification, and also as principles of organizing social action. The artistic field is a field of forces, but also a ***field of***

struggles between the two principles of hierarchization: the heteronomous principle, favourable to those who dominate the field, and the ***autonomous*** principle, favourable to those least endowed with specific capital (symbolic, economic, cultural, or social). The artistic field is then a space of competition for distinction, that is, there are constant efforts to (a) define a position, (b) defend against it, and (c) distinguish it from those below. In order to understand the practices of artist and their products, then one needs to understand that they are the result of the meeting of two histories: the history of the positions they occupy and the history of their dispositions. In order for that understanding to be attained, one must understand the ***strategies*** employed by the agents of the artistic field; a strategy is understood as an orientation of practice that is neither conscious nor calculative nor mechanically determined, but is rather the product of a "sense" for this particular game (the production and consumption of art). Finally, one needs to understand that the art object is both merchandise and meaning, the latter being necessarily collective and existing solely by virtue of the collective belief that knows and acknowledges it as a work of art.

Pierre Bourdieu's description of the artistic field with its primacy on structure, not as an ideal construct but as a reality constantly negotiated by its participant members, a membership that is neither geographically bound nor numerically closed, lends itself to network analysis. Bourdieu is here posing new intellectual questions (the role of the ***habitus*** in the hierarchization of the ***field***) and providing new ways to describe and analyze social structure (the relational aspect of the ***pris de position*** vis-à-vis the available capital at a given time in the artistic field). The artistic field/art world is a network of agents (painters, art dealers, art historians, curators, art critics and reviewers, patrons) and institutions (public, commercial, and artist-run galleries, academies, government agencies, private corporations, and art festivals) all linked in a complex hierarchical structure affected by and affecting the circulating capital: symbolic, economic, cultural, and social.

Bourdieu in his massive output embarks on anti-theoretical, anti-functionalist, anti-empiricist, and anti-subjectivist pronouncements on methodology and received theory:

> For me, theory is not a sort of prophetic or programmatic discourse which originates by dissection or by amalgamation of other theories for the sole purpose of confronting other such pure 'theoretical' theories.... [Scientific theory as I conceive it ...] has more to gain by confronting mere objects than by engaging in theoretical polemics that do little more than fuel vacuous metadiscourse around concepts treated as intellectual totems.[13]

And on methodology:

> This scientific monster [presently] inscribed in the institutional and mental structures of the sociological profession, rooted in the academic distribution of resources, positions, and competencies, as when whole schools (e.g. conversation analysis or status attainment research) are based almost entirely on one particular method, and reinforced by the political demand for instruments of rationalization of social domination and it must be rejected. The trick, if I may call it that, is to manage to combine immense theoretical ambition with extreme empirical modesty."[14]

But despite his protestations he has come under severe criticism by some critics within French-language sociology. Marc Angenot characterizes all structuralism of the 1960s and 1970s as a "fuzzy and disparate syncretic diffusion of Saussurian terminology," and defines syncretism as an accumulation without reworking as a ***"factitious amalgamation of dissimilar ideas or theses that look compatible only insofar as they are not clearly conceived."***[15] For his part, Raymond Boudon claims that the concept of ***habitus*** is a functional concept linking the dominant classes with culture — it functions to reproduce the dominant classes: "Because of habitus, the ruling class enjoys Beethoven, wants to get into university, and speaks in a refined manner; whereas the lower class goes for tangos, mass-produced prints, coarse language, and manual jobs. In this way, people stay in their place, and the social order is safe."[16] And how has Bourdieu succeeded in becoming so popular? Boudon answers that Bourdieu's theory and synthesis of the authority of functionalism with a popularized Marxism, all blended in a "theoretical bombardment," helped him to attain success.[17]

Angenot's and Boudon's comments were published in 1984 and 1986 respectively, and theirs are not the only critical comments, just the most vehement. Other reviewers[18] have criticized Bourdieu's models as being static and closed, as not leaving room for change; and Pierre Bourdieu, not one to ignore a challenge, has tried in his most recent articles to separate himself from many aspects of structuralism as well as present himself as a reflexive social scientist, especially in remarks made during a graduate workshop on Pierre Bourdieu at the University of Chicago in the winter session of 1987[19] and in an interview with Pierre Lamaison in 1985.[20] I believe that an open and non-reductionist reading/appropriation of Pierre Bourdieu's notions of field, habitus, and disposition has merit for this project.

An open reading of Bourdieu will be based on his theory of knowledge understood as human activity,[21] his definition of intellectual generations "one might also determine intellectual and cultural areas by locating the networks of questions and compulsory themes, which define the cultural field of an age"[22], and his understanding of knowledge claims (his/his detractors/and mine) as produced in such networks of power by positioned subjects with personal stakes in the "correct" readings, headings that are nothing more than "distinction"-making actions. Such an "open" reading of Bourdieu would suggest a different genealogy of Bourdieuian sociology from the one that prevails in the discipline at the moment.

Pierre Bourdieu's treatment of the artistic field as having its genesis in specific socio-historical conditions and his application of it in sociological analyses makes possible for a further radical break from the essentialist discourse of philosophical aesthetics, the discourse of the genius of the artist and the pure gaze/pleasure of the beholder, and which has unduly muddied attempts at constructing a sociology of the arts within theoreticist accounts such as those of Janet Wolff, or within ahistorical canonizations such as those of Howard Becker or Liah Greenfeld. We have already seen in the previous chapter how Cornelius Castoriadis's "radical imaginary" allowed one to circumvent the impasse created by the treatments of the autonomy and specificity of the aesthetic within theoreticist sociological accounts. But the aesthetic and pleasure that Castoriadis speaks of are those not yet captured by the endless arbitrary practices of refinement and distinction which begin with the historical genesis of the institutions of the artistic field; following Bourdieu then:

> The sociologist does not intend to refute Kant's phrase that "the beautiful is that which pleases without concept"; rather he or she sets out to define the social conditions which make possible both his experience and the people for whom it is possible (art lovers or 'people of taste') and thence to determine the limits within which it can exist. The sociologist establishes, theoretically and experimentally, that the things which please are the things whose concept is understood or, more precisely, that it is only things whose concept is understood which can give pleasure. He or she also establishes that, consequently, in its learned form, aesthetic pleasure presupposes learning and, in any particular case, learning by habit and exercise, such that this pleasure, an artificial product of art and artifice, which exists or is meant to exist if it were entirely natural, is in reality a cultivated pleasure.[23]

Castoriadis begins in nature and his "imaginary institution" marks the first break with primary perception and becomes the operative for the eventual historically constituted practices of the artistic field. The aesthetic pleasure of the artistic field is not the pleasure attained through what Erwin Panofsky has called the "primary perception"[24] of an immediate sensual apprehension/appreciation, but it is the "learned" pleasure which is the result of training within particular historical fields of action and power:

> Thus the sociology of intellectual and artistic creation must take as its object the creative project as a meeting point and adjustment between determinism and determination. That is, if it is to go beyond the opposition between an internal aesthetic theory, obliged to treat a work as if it were a self-contained system with its own reasons and *raison d'être*, itself defining the coherent principles and norms necessary for its interpretation, and an external aesthetic theory which at the cost often of detrimentally diminishing the work, attempts to relate it to the economic, social and cultural conditions of artistic creation.[25]

My reading of Bourdieu is polythetic,[26] the outcome of my involvement in a multiplicity of discourses informed by polythetic theory — that is, that there is no meta-narrative that might guarantee the logical coherence of sociological discourse;

the guarantee of coherence is provided by the self-regulating mechanism of the social conditions within which practical (polythetic) logic operates; in this case, in the construction of this dissertation, which attempts to account for the production of artistic value in an art world of painting. For the purposes of the present thesis, I will employ the following definitions, chosen because they are commonly used by agents of the art world of painting.

An *art world* is a network of people whose relational activities organized around their joint knowledge of conventional means of doing things produces the kind of art works that the art world is noted for. This group does not have any sharp boundaries and consists of individuals or groups of people who cooperate in order to produce objects that they call objects of art. These persons in turn interact through intimate or extensive relations with other persons, groups, and organizations and, finally, with the rest of the society. The assumptions underlying this general definition, which must be made explicit, are: (a) that in any given art world what counts are "those places whose activities tend to be chronicled by art magazines and/or whose exhibitions and operations are considered worthy of public funding,"[27] and (b) that at any given time there are more artists painting pictures than there are paintings being shown, valued, and/or sold. *Painters* are individuals who, prior to the production of paintings, possessed knowledge of the discipline, techniques, and skills with which they express themselves imaginatively through the medium of paint. *Paintings* are art objects that have been produced with the intention that they will be looked at/shown and have been juried, chosen, valued, or bought and allowed to circulate within the art world; these will be works done on canvas or paper with either oils or acrylic. The specific paintings shown and discussed will be those of Douglas Haynes. *Gatekeepers* are persons or organizations that filter the overflow of artists, art objects, and information on both. They are critics, curators, gallery and museum personnel, art dealers, administrators, art teachers, and collector(s). In discussing *aesthetic judgement* — the ability to determine works of art by quality — and *aesthetic quality* — which can be measured from the consensus of the experts — I will not focus on "who, in matters of aesthetics, is speaking the truth, but ... whose assertions are so authoritative that they are widely accepted as the truth.[28] As Van Rees following Bourdieu has shown in his studies of literature,[29] "an empirical sociologist is perfectly entitled to ask questions such as the following: (a) what kind of statement is at any given moment accepted as the model of a legitimate aesthetic judgement? (b) for which group do these statements acquire the status of (legitimate) aesthetic judgement? (c) which factors determine this process? (d) how is it brought about? and, (e) are there any methodological rules and premises with which it has to comply? The present task is to provide a description of the social relationships/processes through which painted objects become objects of art (paintings), and not to offer a sociological interpretation of art in general.[30]

CHAPTER 4

IN SEARCH OF METHOD

La sociologie et l'art ne font pas bon ménage.
Pierre Bourdieu, *Questions de Sociologie*

Scholarly texts are constructed through their writers' efforts to claim a discursive space through a peremptory literature review and the invocation of names of the appropriate predecessors and current occupants of their chosen field. Equally, scholarly inquiries are constructed in relationship with persons or texts in the "field" who have had a direct role in opening or closing doors, maintaining boundaries, creating or solving problems, unearthing findings and contradictions. And however much one scans the sociological methodological literature for clues on how best to navigate the relationship aspect of fieldwork, one is confronted with a body of discourse more mystifying and disembodied than any account of Kantian aesthetics I might have encountered in my studies of art. In the early stages of my research, armed with the naivety that only a mystified and mystifying sociological methods discourse could endow, I set out to develop a framework for an empirical study of an art world of painting that could be seen as both a document and an analysis of a case study that would contribute to the development of this perspective within the sociological tradition. I was to accomplish this account through the voices of the art world's members, from accounts of ethnographic fieldwork — participant observation, open-ended non-directive interviews — and any documentary materials that I might locate concerning Edmonton's art world to painting. I prepared a small introduction of myself, my research interests, and my status as a graduate student in sociology. Had I known then what I know now, I would have chosen an "underground" route for participating in the art world — but I did not — and that initial "public" role of the outsider I assigned to myself has affected all responses/reactions to my research project. The project's main objective has remained the same: How can we elaborate a course of action for empirical research in the sociology of art that is sociologically proper without losing sight of the meaningful character and specificity of artistic practice that is the object of the investigation? At what cost will the inclusion of painters, paintings, and aesthetic value, as rightly called for by Janet Wolff and others, be obtained? The problem is to find a balance between respecting received theoretical frameworks on the one hand and the integrity of the art world, on the other. This chapter describes my struggle to find a method that will bridge and balance theory and practical circumstances without sacrificing the specificity of the art world in proving the goodness of general sociological theories (Becker's approach) or avoiding the art world altogether and remaining strictly theoretical (Wolff's way).

During the qualifying process for my dissertation, I undertook an analysis of the art world of painting in Edmonton guided by the belief (generated by my literature review) that before any of the larger questions on the scope of the sociology of art can be addressed, micro-sociological studies of the institutions and social processes characteristic of the production and consumption of specific art worlds are required.

In this spirit, I undertook to examine the art gallery system of Edmonton in accordance with Wolff's suggestion that "sociologists gain inside position and knowledge of the art world like an anthropologist who immerses himself in the culture, learns the language, the rules, the behaviour, the poetics and institutions,"[1] and was guided by Becker's operational definitions for painters, paintings, critics and art dealers, and Marcia Bystryn's organizational analysis of the gatekeeping functions of art galleries in post-Second World War New York.[2] However, the Edmonton reality that appeared in both my historical and my qualitative data barely fit the analytical schemes I was employing; and, to paraphrase Dorothy Smith, by objectifying what my "subjects" told me about their lives, I was able to produce a sociological study that said little about the *specificity* of their aesthetic, about art objects and about the artists. My "subjects" had all fallen victims to a methodologically orthodox perspective that showed the Edmonton of the 1980s to be similar to the New York of the 1940s and 1950s. I was forced to rethink my initial premises — to review other case studies that might provide a better focus. This time my review again included Becker and the Becker-inspired studies of Michal McCall, Michael Mulkay, and Elizabeth Chaplin[3]; but regardless of how enticing their accounts initially appeared, for my particular project they were unfruitful. I was producing objective accounts where the content was the form: any art world could be interchanged with another. The lives of the people I had talked to, their work, their alliances and misalliances that I had come to witness all were inconsequential. But how was I to proceed? Where would I look for help? What would I look for?

Increasingly I came to see that there was a story to be told, a historical narrative of sorts, which was partial and selective and could only be told from my own experience, my own positioning in the art world as a graduate student doing research on the community of painters in Edmonton; if I was to provide a relevant-realistic/richer account of an art world than the ones I had rejected in the received literature, that account would have to be told from my point of view, by telling how I invested a part of myself in the process of creating new information, how I became an ingredient of my own research,[4] — in other words, by doing contextual research and producing situated (local) knowledge. What follows is my account of how the data for this thesis were gathered, analyzed, and presented.

My decision to study the art community's structure and patterns of action as a sociologist changed my role from consumer to participant observer. As a result, some people became suspicious and others questioned a sociologist's ability to say anything legitimate about art. My informal participation in the art community had taught me already that that community consists of a definite group of people with a hierarchy of social relations and special knowledge, and an implicit pattern of associations around dealers, art teachers at the university, and prominent curators or government bureaucrats.

As indicated, I drafted an introduction to myself, my research interest, and my status as a graduate student in sociology. I first attempted to gain formal entry by having artists I knew introduce me to what I thought were my gatekeeping subjects.

When this was not successful, I went to a local dealer. Here, my project was received enthusiastically and I was given an interview with helpful tips on approaching others. I next attempted a number of times, always unsuccessfully, to talk with the director of the Edmonton Art Gallery via telephone. In the end, I went to the gallery, sat in the foyer until he came out of his office, and introduced myself. I then got an interview that was informative, and stimulating and lasted close to three hours. He thought my project was legitimate, and needed, and suggested that I do a similar study for sculpture in Edmonton.[5] Other interviews were gleaned with varying degrees of delay and success, ranging from easy access to, in one instance, being stood up a number of times and kept waiting for hours on end. But I finally established myself as a person who was doing research on the art world of painting in Edmonton and, most importantly, a person who was knowledgeable about and sympathetic to art. My most significant moment of acceptance came when I finally met Clement Greenberg during one of his customary visits to the city.

I first heard of Greenberg while still living in Greece. I started reading his writings during the first half of the 1970s, as a graduate student at the University of Florida studying art in its philosophy department. There, virtually all students and staff interested in art discussed Greenberg's notions of "flatness" or the "delimitation of flatness." At the time, I was struggling to become competent in the English language, and I was convinced that my lack of language skills was the reason I was unable make much sense out of what Greenberg was saying.

When I immigrated to Edmonton in the late 1970s, I quickly discovered the direct link of many local painters to the New York painting tradition: Clement Greenberg. I learned of his introduction to western Canadian painters in the Emma Lake workshop; his emerging friendship with Terry Fenton, who eventually became the director of the Edmonton Art Gallery, and his continuous visits to the local studios. I became intrigued with what I heard about "Clem" from the people who knew him in Edmonton — the picture created by those who had met him was so different from that which one gets by reading his critical writings. Though his writing is eloquent and clear most of the time, one gets the impression that the artists do not exist, or do not count; that the only thing that matters is this historical process that churns out flat, painterly images without the benefit of a creative individual. Why, I kept asking myself, are these local artists, sculptors, and painters so anxiously awaiting his arrival, his criticism? Why do they clear their studios and sit around waiting for the message from Clem? And the word travelled fast: during and after his visit all one could hear was "Clem said this" or "Clem said that." More pages were added to the lore surrounding Clem — both positive, from those who were present at the ritual visits, and negative, from those who were left out. I tried very hard to be allowed to participate in the Clemic Mysteries, but to no avail! So when the news spread that Clem was coming, I was let in on the secret but no invitation was extended to me. This time, however, I was determined to meet the man who was not only the most discussed North American critic of his time but also a focal figure in my studies of art.

It was 4 May 1984 when I attended a public lecture at the EAG by Clement Greenberg; he was introduced by Terry Fenton, the gallery's director, as "a friend of art, of good art for many, many years, the most controversial critic in the world of contemporary art, where it counts, who has the reputation of being the champion of abstract art, art that has been produced in Edmonton ever since Clem arrived here in 1962." His topic, which he claimed had not been chosen by him, was how one should collect art. He gave a rather discontinuous lecture — he called it a monologue — with the central message being the following: One should collect only for self-enjoyment, though this is not the case in most instances; people collect for social prestige and/or investment. This latter sort of collecting will not provide one with enjoyment, but more likely will provide anxiety attacks over whether one's collection will be admired. He then told a number of stories denouncing, categorizing, or classifying art and trendiness. "Trendy" art should not be collected, trendiness being symptomatic of "bad-eye" collectors. My persistent requests for specific guidance on how one knows that one does not possess a bad eye with a predilection to like and collect trendy art led to solipsism as did any other direct questioning on good art, a good eye, or the role of the critic. If really pressed for an answer, he replied by saying; "I'd rather respond to this question in writing." The delivery of his monologue was not at all like the tone of his writing; he was presented as the foremost contemporary art critic but it was very obvious from his jokes, examples, and overall demeanour that he did not want to either be where he was or do what he was expected to do. At the end of the lecture, the majority of the listeners were disappointed, some visibly hostile; the artists themselves were the only ones with smiling faces. As for me, I was trying very hard to enter the inner sanctum, to get approval to see the other side of Greenberg, the private side. And it wasn't easy. I asked everyone I could think of and got suggestions ranging from camping out in his hotel wearing a provocative dress to forgetting about it. I started with the formal route of asking Terry Fenton — no ticket — then asked artists and gallery personnel — more advice or sympathy — and finally connected with Douglas Haynes. He was the only person who responded positively, immediately, and directly to my request to be allowed into his studio while Greenberg was to look at his work, if Clem had no objections. Clement not only had no objections, but once we were introduced the next morning and I explained my project to him, he insisted that I follow him through all his visits. When I remarked that the only artist's permission I had obtained was Haynes's, his reply was very welcome, very reassuring to the validity of my project — and profane.

Doug Haynes's studio was cleaned and tidied up, with unstretched painted canvasses on the walls, one on top of the other, and the top one covered, except two that were immediately visible. I asked him if he had a reason for wanting these two to be seen first; he said no, he just ran out of covers. When I commented on his clean studio and his short, new haircut, his reply was that it too was coincidental. Doug Haynes, another local painter, and I had coffee and waited for Greenberg; while waiting we had a very interesting conversation about looking at art and on acquiring a "good eye." Before we could come to any conclusions about looking, the door opened and Greenberg walked in with two EAG employees, Kate Davis and Wayne Staples. After the introductions and preliminaries, Doug started peeling off layer after layer of his painted canvasses on the studio walls. The ritual went like this: Before Haynes uncovered any of the paintings, Greenberg turned his back to them and closed his eyes, asking Doug to let him know when he had uncovered the canvasses. When he was told that the paintings were ready to be seen, he turned around and moved from picture to picture, making statements, and exclamations of an joy or despair, mostly of an unprintable nature. His movements were jerky. He flopped his arms about but his eyes never, never left the pictures he was looking at. His joy, surprise, and wonderment were not unlike a child's. At the end of each layer of pictures he turned his back, closed his eyes, and waiting to be told to look again. After a while, I decided to close my eyes while the new batch of paintings was uncovered and try to choose my favourite paintings before he said anything. I employed a mini-Greenberg approach to compare my "goodness" of seeing to his: about two-thirds of the time we agreed in our reaction. I became fascinated with the other third, wishing I could have the opportunity to compare our reactions to these exceptions with my tape recorder going, but I decided not to press my luck. Layer after layer of Haynes's paintings were shown, and time after time Greenberg said that what makes Haynes a major painter is his disregard for what others say about his work and his persistent though reluctant steps in dealing with excessive pattern, or colour, or the unexpected attempts at drawing with his fingers. Greenberg told Haynes he had the stuff to become a master and asked to look at some bad pictures;

when the pictures were stapled on the wall, Greenberg found them good. He then asked if Doug had any bland paintings, and Doug went to a different pile to produce paintings that were not bland according to Clement (I personally thought the last batch was bland in comparison to those seen before). Failing to find any bad paintings in the studio, he then asked Doug's age, commenting in jest that it was about time that he became rich or famous or both. Later during lunch at a local restaurant, where we were joined by other artists, the other side of Greenberg made itself apparent. He asked all sorts of questions about those present, their families, or other artists, and one could very easily see that he rejoiced in the presence of artists, their achievements and interests. What I was witnessing was not a visit from the most controversial and at times most powerful critic, the one who still keeps all critics and historians on the left arguing about the value of his contributions, but a visit from an old and trusted friend.

Across from me sat a woman sculptor, Isla Burns. I had not heard her name or seen her work, but then again, I had not been following sculpture at all. She had a picture of one of her works that apparently had been sent to Greenberg, who had drawn lines of what he thought had to go. I asked if she had made the changes and Isla told me that she had changed the work but not according to Clem's suggestions. After lunch the tour included visits to sculpture studios; not wanting to overextend my welcome, I suggested that I wouldn't continue, as my research was on painting. Greenberg retorted that looking at sculpture is not different from looking at painting and that, from a historic point of view what goes for painting goes for sculpture also here in Edmonton. (A similar remark was made to me by Terry Fenton a few weeks earlier and was to be repeated to me by Al Reynolds during Greenberg's going-away party later the same weekend). In retrospect, I am glad I continued the rounds.

At Isla Burns's studio Greenberg zeroed in on the same piece he had seen in the picture, objecting to her retention of the top hood-like projection. He protested even more about another piece, declarating repeatedly that "she's hot" but ought to totally eliminate the tops from her more recent works; but she stood her ground. After looking at the work of the other artists in that studio including that of an artist who had brought it there, and before he left, he took another long look at the piece in contention and said; "I was wrong. Yes, it works, you were right," and cast another look at her work, obviously pleased with what he had seen. This incident brought to mind a statement he had made in the preface of his _Art and Culture_:

> This book is not intended as a completely faithful record of my activity as a critic. Not only has much been altered, but much more has been left out than put in. I would not deny being one of those critics who educate themselves in public, but I see no reason why all the haste and waste involved in my self-education should be preserved in a book.[6]

We then left to see another studio, and another, until he had seen them all. The next day he left. Witnessing the public self-education of Clement Greenberg was not a waste of time for me; instead, it was revelation, as was the rest of the day, whose sociological significance will be manifested in Bourdieu's framework of the "field," that is, that what counts is the position from which a pronouncement is made and not the pronouncement itself. That day became a turning point in the progress of my research. I saw Greenberg at work, looking, examining, and criticizing, and talked with him about art — and my research. More importantly, because I was seen making the rounds with him, having lunch with him, and attending his going-away party, many local painters changed their attitude towards me; persons who had ignored me before came to say hello, invited me to their studios, and made small talk; evidently, I was being accepted in the community.

While waiting for Greenberg at Doug Haynes's studio, we had an interesting conversation on my reaction to Larry Poons's paintings — which I do not admire. Doug told me that I was not looking at the paintings; he said a viewer should not try to verify his or her knowledge (artistic, historical, or critical) when looking at a painting, but first allow an immediate, uncritical, and total reaction to the picture to experience a feeling of "goodness in our belly." At that point, I was reminded of Janet Wolff's "pleasure" and of looking and enjoying Emil Nolde's paintings or silly classical ballets. That particular discussion was to come to mind many times in my academic readings, but also every time henceforth that I was to look at art. At first this kind of looking was difficult, because I was then a product of academic training on art history and philosophy — I could look at art only through the lenses of school, style, and ideology. Since then, I have tried to allow the "feeling of goodness in the belly" to surface first. This new approach cost me some possible interview subjects: I was seen as having contaminated my good "eye". Of course, to many of these artists a good "eye" as well as good "art" refer only to a very narrow execution of colour field abstraction; anything else was decorative or "trendy,"[7] not as Greenberg defined the word, but in a pejorative sense used for work one does not like or that has become commercially successful.

The best part of my making the rounds with Greenberg was that I was allowed an entry into the art world of Edmonton; the most interesting part comes from the realization that "the" Clement Greenberg who comes on regular basis to Edmonton[8] is a private friend of a small number of artists and not the controversial critic who still holds centre stage in contemporary discussions of modernity and post-modernity.[9] The most enduring aspect regarding project at hand was that, through being allowed to penetrate the aura of sacredness that surrounds Clem Greenberg's visits to Edmonton and to participate in the ritual of "making the rounds," I came to see that the art world is not just an operative sociological notion, but a real and intricate web of people involved in the production and consumption of art. Just how intricate the web was, or the fact that I was caught in it, took quite some time to realize. The questions that I wrote for myself at that time clearly showed that I was positioning myself outside the "fray" of the everyday life of the art world and within the safe but also totalizating gaze of sociological neutrality. What is the relationship of aesthetic awareness and communication to everyday life? Is there a parallel between the two? Can an artistic language be learned in the same way as a linguistic one? How much of the culture of the art world is tacit knowledge? Can verbal accounts of aesthetic phenomena explain without replacing the phenomena themselves? Are we doomed to verbal approximation? Can paintings be carriers of knowledge? Of what sort?

I spent the spring of 1985 at the University of Leeds, where I met with Janet Wolff, who at that time was reading Nancy Chodorow but who introduced me to Zygmunt Bauman — I sat in his culture seminar — but most important for my interest and training was her introducing me to Griselda Pollock,[10] a leading feminist social art historian. I benefited greatly from Pollock's knowledge and teaching style as I ventured into unfamiliar territory. I sat in her graduate seminar, which met fortnightly at her house, and watched, participated, and witnessed what it means to be inter- or cross-disciplinary as well as seeing "site intervention" first hand when she invited me to sit through a master's thesis defense. The student wrote about the visual documentation of the first women coal miners in England's north but her thesis defense (and final document) also included a "performance" with music, voice-overs from the miners' strike, Margaret Thatcher denouncing the unions' demands, commentary from television shows, and most importantly, the student as narrator taking on the persona of one of the women whose photograph became a focal point of her research, as a site to look from and be looked at. The "event" was videotaped and the committee approved it, and they then sat around trying to find ways to have the Graduate Faculty accept a thesis that included the written, audio, and visual texts of the accompanying performance. Apparently, the Faculty had expressed their unhappiness with having to face this possibility, and Griselda Pollock was ready to fight for its acceptance because the disciplinary site had to be violated (intervened) if any displacement or disaffirming of patriarchy and/or disciplinary hierarchies was to take place. At the end of the day in my dorm, instead of jotting down notes, for the first time in eighteen years I made art; I made a collage with God's huge eye as the background (the one seen invariably on the cupolas of Byzantine churches) and over it I drew four squares à la René Magritte's *Key of Dreams*. In the upper left square I pasted a cut-out of the word "I"; next to it I put a cut-out of the word "eye," on the lower left square the word "site" and, next to it the word "sight." I named it "Foucault's Panopticon" and the next day in parenthesis I added "and my mother's Pantocrator!" Three days later my time at Leeds was up.

Back in Canada, I resumed my work but was not able to connect my experience in Leeds with the preparation of a thesis proposal. My proposal stayed squarely within received sociological theories literature, and I proceeded, work on the thesis. I was able easily to get interviews with beginning painters, but the established ones were more difficult. Rather than me, they became the interrogators. They wanted to know whether the thesis would be published, they wanted to know what sort of paintings/painters I liked, they ridiculed sociology as even contemplating having anything to say about art and artists. I then decided to go the public route; to put an announcement in the Alberta Culture's _Visual Arts Newsletter_, which everybody got for free. The result of this exercise was interesting: only six painters replied, five men and one woman, but all with the exception of the woman were not artists that interested me; they were picture painters, not part of the art world and the making or un-making of aesthetic categories, standards and reputation. But I interviewed them all — if for no other reason than to test my unwieldy questionnaire.[11] When I met with the woman painter I asked her why she phoned me; her reply was, only because she knew I was Isla Burns's friend and because she was both interested in what other women were doing and willing to help any way she could. After that experience, I started to find out why the response from the painters that "count" was so poor: the no-one who is anyone or who has some sense will take the *Newsletter* seriously, The *Newsletter* was seen by that group as a means of networking amongst craftspersons and a public-relations vehicle for the Visual Arts Branch of the Ministry of Culture. That sort of information clarified for me the value of the information available at the artists registry[12] at that same branch, which I had discovered in the early stages of my research: of the hundreds of entries there are a dozen or so painters of the sort I wanted, and their files were the least up-to-date (it was up to artists to keep their entry up-to-date; employees of the branch updated events in which the branch was somehow involved). I decided I needed a break from figuring out the sample; instead I started doing art historical/institutional research and tried to have a couple of articles published in the EAG's *Update* and the *Vanguard*;[13] I never heard from the *Update* and the *Vanguard* found the article interesting but not theoretical enough for them. I then tried to sharpen my point of view in dialogue with other sociologists. I started to organize a session in the sociology of art for a Learned Societies' meeting, but I received only one abstract; I then, turned to associations in the south and presented two papers on women artists at the American Sociological Association's meetings and one — my favourite — at a Popular Culture Association meeting held in Montreal. The paper spoke of the sort of paintings being produced in Edmonton as result of Edmonton's Americanization and

Greenberg's westernization; although some of the painting do not follow the "official" New York school, they are, all the same, good. At the same panel was Gaile McGregor, who[14] said similar things and had an explanation for the phenomenon, stemming from Canadians' reaction to an unforgiving nature and the centripetality of their psyche. Also on the same panel was Karen Wilkin who, along with Terry Fenton, takes credit not for introducing Abstract Expressionism to Alberta (others had done this before) but for becoming the sole legitimators of what is good art, correct criticism, and developing alliances with the art worlds of New York and London. She missed the point of our presentations and became incensed that sociologists would have the nerve to show slides and have opinions on style and goodness. I thought after that, that she would not agree to be interviewed for the project — which she had assented to prior to the meeting — but she did.

I knew that I needed to refine my data collecting and managing skills vis-à-vis the sample of my thesis, and I also knew I could not "practice," so to speak, on an already identified population. The Association for Canadian Studies put out a call for papers on the "*Practicing of the Arts in Canada*," so I decided to send an abstract for a paper on the steel sculptors of Edmonton. After all, early in my research Terry Fenton, Clement Greenberg, and Alan Reynolds had admonished me to include sculpture within my purview. When the abstract was accepted I phoned all of the sculptors who had "made" it — a tight group of eleven — and told them what I wanted to do I sent them a letter with the abstract and told them that I might end up using direct quotes from the manuscript, so they needn't feel obliged to answer any questions. Also, if they wanted, I would send them a copy of the manuscript, and eventually they were all mailed a copy of the paper I presented. All except two readily agreed to participate; one had injured herself and could not be interviewed and another who moved. Some even gave me slides of their work to show. When the paper was later accepted for publication, I notified them; of the nine, only three showed interest in receiving a published version, of the three, one phoned me to say that he thought I might have misquoted him; even though the quote was on the transcript and the presented version, I visited his studio and played the tape back; that was the end of that. The methodological framework I was using was that presented by Dorothy Smith in The Everyday World as Problematic: A Feminist Sociology, treating my subjects in a "word of honour" methodology, my version of Smith's "co-subjects" status; as I could hardly consider or call steel sculptors my "co-subjects," no "Archimedean" point for me![15] But I kept in mind that "objectivity for the social scientist has involved continual attention to the methodological and epistemological problems arising from the fact that the cognitive domain of sociology has to be organized in and — in a sense — *out of the lived reality of the world of the sociologist participates in her total being*" (italics mine).[16] The immediate reaction of my "embodied" memory was to think, Why did I not do the sculptors? I would have finished by now. All I had to do was discuss them on the basis of Howard Becker's "Artists as Social Types" (1976) with enough socio-historical background, and be done with the endless hurdles. Although I was ready to drown in self-pity, I decided instead to compare my notes on the two groups of artists, and some very important differences came to the surface. Steel sculpture as an art form has a relatively short history (since the 1930's) relatively few sites of practice and fame (London, New York, and Edmonton) and a short list of "stars" (Anthony Caro in London, Michael Steiner in New York and Peter Hide in Edmonton). Peter Hide has been the driving force behind the teaching of steel sculpture, its undisputed (in most circles) leader, and its most revered teacher. Almost all practicing sculptors in Edmonton are his students, and even though some have outgrown his style of execution, all have the most warm and positive words for him as a teacher. Sales of steel sculpture are minimal, as are sales of any type of sculpture anywhere, owing probably to the art form's cumbersome and monumental nature, which makes it difficult to accommodate and collect privately. As for the legitimators, from Clement Greenberg to Karen Wilkin and Terry Fenton and anyone else in between, Edmonton is "Sculpture City" — the Florence of contemporary sculpture. All these factors make for an almost "bounded" group, a group easily found in their usual hang-outs for coffee, a game of darts, a glass of beer, or at each other's openings and parties. Not that there are no conflicts — those exist — but they overcome them through their binding love for and curiosity about their material of choice, steel. Regardless of what might divide them at any given moment, a word about free scrap metal, which word travels fast, erases the friction. There is a "machismo" of sorts — for lack of a better word — that stems from the sheer physicality of their work, the bending, the balancing of tons of steel, the actual displacement of space that affords them a temperament and camaraderie not found at all amongst the painters. The sculptors proudly call themselves "the northern barbarians," and at times they live up to this name. But I owe to these barbarians the inside jokes of the art world, much of the gossip and innuendo as well as the opportunity — through comparison — to understand the temperamental differences found amongst the painters, where things are not so uncomplicated within or outside Edmonton.

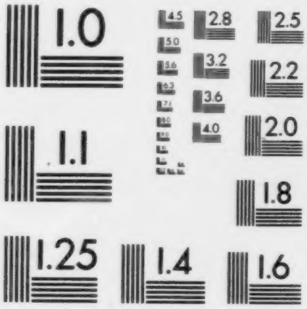
Painting's history is much longer, its "stars" too numerous, and the appropriate sites too many and forever shifting. During only the last twenty-five years, stylistic changes have ranged from all sorts of abstraction, to minimalism, pop, op, neo-realism, photo-realism, neo-expressionism (of all kinds), new-fauve, and on and on. The sites have changed back and forth from Paris to New York, London, Berlin, Milan, but never to Edmonton. Edmonton has remained in the margin of Canadian as well as international art consumption. When the sales are brisk outside Edmonton, they are sales of the Old European Masters, of the latest "flavour" from New York, or Eastern Canadian painters; when the sales are brisk in Edmonton they are paintings favouring landscapes of snow, rivers, farm hedges, bulls and other animals, cowboys pensively looking westward, cityscapes with forlorn-looking women or glorious sunsets. And although sales are not brisk except sporadically, most painters that count, unlike the sculptors, have full-time jobs within the legitimating institutions. This factor puts the painters in a more precarious position vis-à-vis anyone that might jeopardize an already shaky aesthetic situation.

While I was comparing data between the two groups, an incident took place in one of the classes I was teaching that reinforced my belief that a lot more needed to be clarified methodologically than Smith's institutional ethnography. We were discussing institutional ethnography; the students' reaction was so hostile it was frightening. Almost all — it was an unusually lively group — laughed at Smith's and by extension my naivety in believing that the women of her research were also her "co-subjects"; they told me that they — mothers of children as were those discussed in Smith — would not buy Smith's magnanimity; they said that in our academic ivory tower we might believe in each other's theories and what we are doing, but to please leave them out![17] That incident was a turning point for me; I had spent for the last year and a half teaching full time, hoping to read and resolve, through the presentation of papers and by taking part in informal discussion groups, the epistemological and methodological problems I was faced with in the construction/crafting of this dissertation. What that encounter taught me was that yes, Smith's magnanimity towards her co-subjects was problematic, but what was more problematic for me was the fact that I wanted to be where Smith already was — in the Academy. So I re-read old comments and notes and decided to take another look at Pierre Bourdieu. I read Distinction again and this time the concept of "habitus" began to come to life, as did his concept of "symbolic capital."

Two events occurred while I was immersed in Bourdieu's better-known works that brought me to the present and final stage of this journey. Liah Greenfeld's book Different Worlds[18] was published, and for the first time I knew the type of sociology

2

PM-1 3½"x4" PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
NBS 1010a ANSI/ISO #2 EQUIVALENT


1.0
4.5
5.0
5.6
2.8
3.2
3.6
4.0
2.5
2.2
2.0
1.1
1.8
1.25
1.4
1.6

PRECISION^SM RESOLUTION TARGETS

PIONEERS IN METHYLENE BLUE TESTING SINCE 1974

15000 COUNTY ROAD 5, BURNSVILLE, MN 55337, USA
TEL: 612 435 7887 FAX: 612 435 7887 TLX: [illegible]

of art *I did not want to do*; and Loïc J. D. Wacquant published an article on Pierre Bourdieu Sociological Theory[19] complete with the most up-to-date bibliography of Bourdieu's work published in English as well as commentaries on his work or works inspired by his oeuvre. This time, leaving aside the major works found in sociological sources, I ventured into journals of anthropology, philosophy, literary criticism, and education to find a Bourdieu who appeared to have overcome the antinomies of structure/action, of micro versus macro: "In circumventing or dissolving these and other dichotomies, Bourdieu has been insistently pointing to the possibility of a ***unified political economy of practice***, and especially of symbolic power, that fuses structural and phenomenologically — inspired approaches into a coherent, epistemologically grounded, mode of social inquiry of universal applicability."[20] His concepts of "***field***," "***habitus***," and "***symbolic capital***" begun to provide a way out of my impasse, which is that of the discipline itself. The earliest discussion of these concepts that I have found in English is contained in his essay "Intellectual Field and Creative Project" published in 1969 in Social Science Information.[21] And however eccentric/idiolectic his language might be, however fragmented and spread out his theoretical ventures, I had no problem following him. But I found his points of method or lack thereof extremely difficult to use in "mapping" out Edmonton's art world": the trick is to combine immense theoretical ambitions with exztreme empirical modesty."[22] This is easy for him to say, from his entrenched position within the field of sociology and his access to the immense symbolic capital in the form of data and labour at the Ecole des Haute Etudes en Sciences Sociales. But as one who is still on the margins of the field, who needs to produce a thesis that will allow me a space in it, I must choose a methodological ***prise de position*** that will allow eventual consecration of my thesis.

My thesis is ambitious — the study of the relationship between aesthetic evaluation, collective action, and artistic success of a contemporaneous art world, a study that will include both painters and their paintings — a first; but what is "empirical" modesty regarding fieldwork data in an "uppity" art world? I am aware that in a way I am trying to "retranslate Bourdieu's work into homogenous, or at least familiar, theoretical idioms ... trying to refract Bourdieu through the prism of native sociological lenses,"[23] but in following his own theoretical stance as a future member of the field of sociology, I am trying to negotiate a position within a field (Canadian sociology) whose structural constraints "set the limits to the free play of dispositions, but there are different ways of playing within these limits."[24] Here I am then between orthodoxy and heterodoxy in search of what counts as a solution. Solace and inspiration came through readings in post-modern anthropology, feminism (especially bell hooks), and more Bourdieu.

Pierre Bourdieu's description of the artistic field, with its primacy on structure not as an ideal construct but as a reality constantly negotiated by its participant members, a membership that is neither geographically bound nor numerically closed, lends itself to an art world analysis. Bourdieu poses new intellectual questions (the role of the ***habitus*** in the hierarchization of the ***field***) and provides new ways to describe and analyze social structure (the relational aspect of the ***pris de position*** vis-à-vis the available capital at a given time in the artistic field). The artistic field/art world is a network of actors (painters, art dealers, art historians, curators, art critics and reviewers, patrons) and institutions (public, commercial, and artist-run galleries, academies, government agencies, private corporations, and art festivals) all linked in a complex hierarchical structure affected by and affecting the circulating capital: symbolic, economic, cultural. Feeling comfortable with Bourdieu's notion of the field, I proceeded to test out my "appropriation" of it by presenting papers at conferences and in doing so I also explored the possible limits and play of dispositions allowable to a graduate student:

> "The university field is, like any other field, the locus of a struggle to determine the conditions and the criteria of legitimate membership and legitimate hierarchy, that is, to determine which properties are pertinent, effective and liable to function as capital so as to generate the specific profits guaranteed by the field."[25]

I plan in the chapters that follow to see the art world of Edmonton as the site of interaction of two histories — that of the past objectified in the positions, beliefs, rituals of the institution of art; and the "embodied" history that makes up the dispositions of its agents, who are also actors. The art world is not only a site of the above interaction, it is also a site of struggles among its agents or groups of agents to "keep or improve their position in the field, i.e., to conserve or increase the specific capital which is only created within the field."[26] And given the fact that the positions of the art world are to date still ill-defined in terms of entrance requirements, performance standards, and reward systems, they fall within the "grey" areas of social space,[27] and so it is to the specific agents advantage to not be forthcoming about dispositions with fellow agents/actors, or with sociologists for that matter. So I have to construct a methodology that will measure a rather unstable field without "to reducing to 'uniform' classes everything that is 'liberated' and 'alternative', 'multiple' and 'different', and to confine the supreme experience of 'play' and '*jouissance*' within the grey position of a 'knowledge' which if it aims to be 'positive' must be 'positivistic', 'totalizing' and therefore 'totalitarian.'"[28]

Going over my notes once again using Bourdieu's notions of the "***field***" and the events in it, I saw that Doug Haynes had responded to my requests not only because he is a nice person but also because he occupies a dominant position within the field of painting and as such cannot be hurt by what a sociologist might say about him; this was also the case with Greenberg. I had initially tried to gain entry only through artists who were or thought they were marginal to the inner circle and so could not decide what an alliance with me would do to their position and position-takings. Haynes has become an important subject in my research not only because he was the first artist I interviewed at length: or because he opened the doors of the art world for me; or because he has had twenty-nine solo and twenty-one group exhibits throughout Canada and Europe, and has been reviewed or written up in forty-one sources, has had a number of catalogues, and has paintings in twenty-eight public corporate collections and too many private ones to count. In addition to all that, he has been generous with his help because he understands what it is or takes to do research the way we social scientists do it, and because when he talks to me about El Greco's *El Espolio* I know what he is talking about. My knowledge of, interest in, and enthusiasm for painting seem to obviate the tiresomeness of my endless sociological "whys." Our "fit" as "subject" and "researcher" has come about because of the histories and subjectivities that were brought to our present condition. So, our relationship continues on a moral sort of plane, with me explaining why I ask the things I ask of him and what I plan to do with the information; I always keep him informed on how I will use his text — I give him conference announcements, my proposals, program notes, and finished reports — and he in return gives me slides and, most important for this project, agreed to let me use photos, and names of reviewers and collectors, so I can use his life's oeuvre to trace the stages of development of an artistic reputation.

Pierre Bourdieu's construction of the intellectual fields as developing and being part of the general cultural field offers a framework and vocabulary to talk about sociology, aesthetics, and art history and criticism as "autonomous' fields, that is with their own history, logic, "starts," and intersections. Discourses (aesthetic and sociological) and texts (dissertations and paintings) are produced somewhere, sometime, by some persons. Sociology of art, having spent so much of its intellectual energy in denouncing any "aesthetic" discussion, is now (partially at least) calling for the inclusion of discussion of both the "aesthetic" and how it manifests itself in the art objects, and how its acceptance (or non-acceptance) affects the career of an object. At what cost to sociology do we include the art object in discussions of art?

Doing art is quite similar to doing sociology: both art and sociology are institutionally bound discourses; they both have received theories and prescriptive documents; they both are embedded in discourses of ruling and faced with problems of hierarchy, inclusion/exclusion, power struggles, and domination. Because paintings are visual texts, we must not only follow their "career" through discursive sources (publicly available data: reviews, catalogues, auction sales, etc.), but must also include photos of the painting in order to best follow and reconstruct its history of valuation.[29]

As Sigmund Freud reminds us, "We are obliged to use the currency-in-use of the country we are exploring"[30] and so much of the coinage of an art world of painting is visual. When we look at paintings, we see by a sequence of scanning — not linearly, the way we talk; in other words, the pace of seeing is not the pace of telling. There have been many cautionary tales from those who not only look at paintings with any regularity but also have to talk about them. John Berger for example, says:

> "It is seeing which established our place in the surrounding world; we explain the world with words, but words can never undo the fact that we are surrounded by it. The relation between what we see and what we know is never settled".[31]

And for Margaret Miles,

> "visual images, however, as presentational rather than discursive and as inherently multivalent, can offer formulation and expression simultaneously to a wide variety of persons with different perspectives. The universality of physical existence, articulated by images, is different from the universality of the subjective consciousness, articulated by language. While language necessarily begins with a universal expression that it imposes on the particular, images begin with an

> expression of the particulars and evoke the universal, inviting the viewer to participation in a symbolic expression that gives universal significance to the particular experience of human beings."[32]

I became aware of this insistence on visual particularity early in my research; when painters talk about paintings they either show you the actual work, slides, or photographs in art books. There is a lot of pointing, and showing and not a lot of talking; they truly believe that the work speaks for itself. The same is true with art dealers or curators — when I ask them to define a good painting, or to rate and explain why they choose the way they choose, they become speechless. Although they cannot define and/or verbally explain their rating system, they do rate, and they can point to and explain the differences through visual comparison. If pressed, they spoke of a "feeling" in their gut and do not see the need to explicate. The knowledge that counts most in their categorization comes from a stock of practices that include and presuppose seeing through scanning whereas sociologists when they talk about paintings, remain resolutely within the linear mode of textual accounts, an equalizing (flattening out) mode that allows one to treat paintings, novels, and ballets interchangeably as works of art. The intimate, even taken-for-granted involvement of the visual and discursive texts in the affairs of the art world of painting will be employed in this thesis; when the provenance of a painting is discussed, a photograph of the painting will be shown. Hans Haacke's *Framing and Being Framed*[33] will provide guidelines by which one may include of paintings in sociological discussions.

Bourdieu has suggested that "trespassing" is a prerequisite of scientific advance; I trespass disciplinary boundaries and established methodological recipes in order to present a case study embedded in the methodological position that "the cultural system of society is not only structure of *given* meanings, it is also a field of action. Culture is a meaning structure, but it is produced, reproduced and *used* by acting *subjects*."[34]

My approach has benefitted greatly from (a) the discussions with my students of Dorothy Smith's "problematic," which made me cognizant of the need to go beyond her limits; (b) Pierre Bourdieu's treatment of fields and other hierarchies within which exist unequal parts of privilege (capital), which in turn make the positions, dispositions, and position-takings available in any given field fluid; (c) Clifford Geertz's emphasis on the value of local, situated knowledge(s) as being *mere* accurate accounts of the real world; (d) the work of James Clifford et al. on ethnography; and finally, (e) the discussions of feminist "embodied" methodologies from the margins. What follows can be described as a view of Edmonton's art world of painting from my position within it — namely, that of a graduate student doing research on how aesthetic standards and artistic success are legitimated — and the repositionings stemming from changes imposed on me by my "subjects" or my own evaluations and courses of action in order to secure for myself a position "within" the field/institution of sociology. As Clifford Geertz points out:

> In the last analysis, then, as in the first, the interpretive study of culture represents an attempt to come to terms with the diversity of they ways human

> beings construct their lives in the act of leading them. In the more standard sorts of science the trick is to steer between what statisticians call type-one and type-two errors — accepting hypotheses one would be better advised to reject and rejecting ones one would be wiser to accept; here it is to steer between overinterpretation and underinterpretation, reading more into things than reason permits and less into them than it demands. Where the first sort of mistake, telling stories about people only a professor can believe, has been much noted and more than a bit exaggerated, the second, reducing people to ordinary chaps out, like the rest of us, for money, sex, status, and power, never mind a few peculiar ideas that don't mean much anyway when push comes to shove, has been much less so ... To see ourselves as others see us can be eye-opening. To see others as sharing a nature with ourselves is the merest decency. But it is from the far more difficult achievement of seeing ourselves amongst others, on a local example of the forms human life has locally taken, a case among cases, a world among worlds, that the largeness of mind, without which objectivity is self-congratulation and tolerance a sham, comes.[35]

To conclude, it is within this framework, from an "embodied" site/position/field, that I will attempt to advance my analysis, an analysis based on the interviews I conducted over a number of years with members of the Edmonton art world; on historical, documentary material located in libraries; and on data collected in my observations of the day-to-day goings-on of the art world as well the important rituals (the "rounds" with Greenberg, opening nights, weddings, and similar gatherings) that I was invited to participate in.

I believe this insider/outsider approach will provide a more accurate and richer account of an art world than the totalizing effect of the "disembodied" (Weberian) approach accounted for in _Different Worlds_: because this study not only should provide a sociological framework for the grounding of aesthetic quality, but also should facilitate our understanding of the production and distribution of artistic knowledge, thus moving the sociology of art closer to concerns at the core of the discipline while mounting its own theoretical framework.

CHAPTER 5

THE ART WORLD

Historical Antecedents

All social groups have throughout their histories occupied themselves with creative activities and produced objects with special characteristics or meanings, objects almost always associated with magical or social activities and body decoration. Any visit to a museum or the old sections of European cities will provide the visitor with numerous remnants of classical antiquity: sculptures, painted vases, frescoes, mosaics, and all sorts of other artifacts that are now enjoyed as works of "art." They exhibit elements of beauty, balance, proportion, colour, design, and so on, and one can safely assume that these artifacts required a lot of time and talent on behalf of their producers, and further that they were to be admired by their viewers/users. When the ancient Greeks spoke of *techne*, they referred to technical/craft skills and not to a theoretical system of aesthetic norms; for them the aesthetic quality was not separated from their functional or practical applications. "Art" was seen as teachable skill and as part of everyday life.

From antiquity on throughout the Middle Ages, nothing much changed regarding the function and treatment of "artistic" production: it was closely tied to the life praxis, mostly fulfilled social needs and decoration, and was produced by men and women anonymously. It basically involved the building of temples or churches, their decoration, embroidery and weaving of religious vestments, and the illumination of religious texts all of which were considered of equal value. As in antiquity, during which the city-state commissioned works of "art," in the Middle Ages "art" projects were commissioned by kings, queens and abbesses, the latter exercising a substantial amount of power. The writers and thinkers of classical antiquity, although regularly confronted with works of art that are even today thought of as masterpieces, found it unnecessary to create aesthetic theories or hierarchical groupings on the basis of some intrinsic values; instead, they saw aesthetic quality and excellence as part of the practical function of pieces: intellectual, moral, and religious.[1]

Middle Ages

Opinions very as to when the Middle Ages started, but most sources seem to accept the crowning of King Charles of the Franks as Emperor of Rome in A.D. 800 as the beginning of that period. The Franks, having stopped the westward onslaught of Islam and established themselves as the new chosen people of God inadvertently became not the continuers of Rome's glory, but the forefathers of contemporary western Europe. However, with all the grandiose and imperial tendencies of the Franks, the real power remained with the pope and the monasteries. As John Bechwith notes in _Early Medieval Art_, "Charlemagne and his successors could never lay claim to the mystique of the Byzantine Emperors, to the intellectual and political traditions of the Great Palace of Constantinople, to the stability of the Byzantine civil service, the army and the fleet which could maintain order on the occasions when the emperor seemed incapable of fulfilling his destiny."[2] The period's particular artistic contribution remains the so-called "minor arts of manuscript illumination, ivory carving and goldsmith's work."[3]

During the Middle Ages artists tended to remain anonymous which might be attributed to the widespread illiteracy amongst all except the clergy and the nobility. It is difficult to generalize about the cultural context and the position of artists, except to say that many came from the peasantry, which was mostly illiterate, and had large families marked by high infant mortality. Wendy Slatkin in _Women Artists_ in History[4] paints a rather depressing picture of the times, especially for peasant women who, had no legal rights, were dependent on their husbands or lords, and were expected to produce, prepare, and serve food as well as participate in agricultural labour, weaving, and clothworking. But the women of nobility had better life chances than their peasant sisters, and they played an important role in the Middle Ages as producers and patrons of the arts. Noblewomen were often educated and, more important, were allowed to inherit land. Some of them, when widowed, managed to become executors of their husbands' wills, and many of these became nuns, as they were required to donate land to the abbey before they were being accepted into an order. In imitation of queens, many of the women of the nobility commissioned books, embroideries, and liturgical objects; and many of them found creative outlets in needlework and tapestry, an art that was considered equal to painting at the time.

Until the eleventh century, the monasteries held a central power as educational and intellectual hubs, and as such were pivotal in artistic patronage. From the eleventh century onward, certain socio-economic changes shifted power to the emerging cities and the universities, and ecclesiastical power shifted from the monasteries to bishops and the papacy. With the establishment of big cities, educational and intellectual impetus moved from the monasteries and convents to the universities. Poor, powerless, and removed from the secular intellectual centres, the convents produced art that lagged behind current ideas, technologies, and stylistic developments, and gradually their influence waned. Until the late fifteenth century, illumination was identified with monasteries and convents, but then it was quickly replaced by the printing press and workshops. Those who worked on tapestries suffered a similar fate. Tapestry making was controlled by women until the fourteenth century, when it was taken over and by the guilds, which were established and run by men and which restricted and finally prevented female participation. By the end of the Middle Ages creative production was controlled by men. This change might in part be attributed to the misogynistic teachings of the church[5] because most of the educated men of the times were clergymen, and in part to the general appropriation of women's labour by men — which began in the family and moved progressively to the guild, the state, and the church. For the first time the different creative activities — embroidery, tapestry, painting — were undertaken by separate guilds. Painters' guilds took on apprentices and had juries at various stages of the apprenticeship before an artist was allowed to graduate — having produced a "masterpiece." Guild members saw themselves as artisans and art as something that could be taught and mastered, and they depended on the church and the feudal lords for patronage. The painter's relationship to his or rarely her patron was straightforward, and the art produced was part of the life of the court aristocracy, either taking its aesthetic cues from the social norms or directly serving social interests — ecclesiastical or political functions. In the Middle Ages as in classical antiquity, we find no elaborate theories of art or hierarchical systems of the arts, but we find increasingly organized teaching in practical matters. Besides illumination and painting, poetry and music were taught in the increasing number of schools and universities, schools that followed the seven liberal arts of the ancients in classifying human knowledge and establishing their curricula.[6]

Renaissance

From the early fifteenth century until about the middle of the eighteenth many changes swept through Europe, including profound changes to the definition, of artistic production and reception which have endured ever since. The diminished power of the monasteries and the establishment of cities and universities were but the beginning of even more radical changes, changes emanating from the social disenchantment wrought by such events as the One Hundred Years' War, the devastation of the Black Death, the loss of faith in the church, and the decline of the feudal system owing to the rapid development of urban economies. Of course, none of these events took place at the same time and to a similar extent throughout Europe, but together they brought about the rapid development of the natural sciences, which greatly facilitated the expansion of capitalism and eventual transfer of power to the bourgeoisie, and the transfer of power from Italy to France, which affected what would eventually become the official discourse in western "art." The distinction between the arts and sciences, the emphasis on the empirical method of linear perspective, and the competition amongst the newly established art academies all contributed to the creation of the first critical writings on the "fine arts" and generated wide interest among amateurs and philosophers alike on questions of artistic genius, taste, and the creative imagination. For the first time, arts were classified in hierarchies: from primitive to sophisticated. At first, those who were versed in the philosophical debates about art and artistic genius were mostly men who had the benefit of a humanistic education thus enabling them to detach art from ecclesiastical ritual. Because the interests of the new patrons reflected their education, increasingly painters — if they wished to succeed — not only enrolled in the academies but began to see themselves as intellectuals rather than craftsmen.

During the Renaissance, patronage in Italy was shared by the state and the church; they commissioned painters to paint religious stories or allegorical tales from classical antiquity. The main characters depicted were males, with female characters in supporting roles in different stages of undress. This emphasis on storytelling and personas necessitated special training for painters, which included humanist education and technical proficiency in painting the human body. Because the education of painters was controlled by the male-operated guilds, women were kept out of nude study classes — it was thought that such an experience would be detrimental to them. This exclusion of women from nude classes might or might not have been detrimental to their morality, but it was definitely detrimental to their eventual artistic imagination: denied the opportunity to gain technical expertise, they were unable to compete in the latest innovations of style. Some women painters, members of the upper classes who were related to master painters, succeeded in creating a career and a name for themselves by doing portraits of domestic scenes, but these were exceptions, rare evaders of the "rules" of institutional constraints that acted upon women as artists. But because the changes did not happen at a the same time and at similar pace throughout Europe, it is best that we focus — however briefly — on individual areas.

Italy

Of the many changes that took place during Renaissance, some more centrally affected the fate and status of painting and painters in subsequent periods. Much of what is now thought of as "modern" art

> begins with the Renaissance, with the rediscovery and evaluation of classical Roman art and Greek and Roman culture, and the attempt to transform all contemporary art to meet the standards derived from a study of the Ancients.... The classical norms remained theoretically in force with some uneasiness until the end of the eighteenth century, when they met with massive opposition, but the model of the Renaissance — the rediscovery of forgotten style and its canonization as an ideal for contemporary art — set a pattern for revolutionary movements in art."[7]

What might have prompted such a rediscovery, which fundamentally changed notions of taste, aesthetics, and even politics? R. A. Sydie finds the intellectual origins of the theoretical discourse of western painting in the neo-Platonist formulations of Marsilio Ficino of Florence.[8] Ficino was an influential member of the fifteenth-century

Platonic Academy, an informal gathering of aspiring philosophies in Florence's high society that was under the patronage of the Medici. The influence of the Academy was not widespread, nor were its teachings strictly philosophical: they mixed classical scholarship with philosophy and with a great deal of religion and guidance on how to live one's life in order to attain closeness with the divine. This revival of Platonism was the force behind the notion of divine madness, first for poets and later for painters.

The politically powerful of Florence, the most famous of whom were the Medici, exhibited their social standing through patronage and demonstrated their taste through the art works they supported. First the church and later the secular princes or princesses used art for these reasons. We know that painters were still recruited from the peasant and artisan classes in the Renaissance, which raises the obvious question, if the artists did not come from the humanistically educated aristocracy, how did they ever attain greatness or acquire genius? As Sydie notes, the greatness and genius under discussion were not those of the artist but of the patron, who through his/her noble heritage and education was able to detect greatness in a work of art. A small circle of men in fifteenth-century Florence controlled the wealth, the politics, and the social and religious institutions. By appropriating the creative gifts of others, they not only succeeded in transforming their merchant wealth into aristocratic style but also — to the detriment of subsequent art practices and theories — created the myth of genius as a male attribute:

> Genius was in the eye of the beholder and in the ideological and structural context of the period, women were not, indeed could not, be beholden to such fashion."[9]

The current ideology of male dominance in the arts has its roots in the socially structured categories established and propagated by Florentine humanists. In fifteenth-century Florence the stage was set for the antithetical roles that the concepts of "woman" and "artist" were to play from then on, as well as the hierarchical grouping of the various arts according to their creator's proximity to the state of divine madness.

In *The* Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine,[10] Roszika Parker traces the history of the hierarchy of the arts. She shows that this hierarchy was not based on the media used, as is commonly assumed, but rather on the maker's social class and gender. Another influencing factor was the purpose for which an object was made and the domain of its reception and consumption: if it was made for public consumption and for money, as was painting, it was regarded as "high" art; if it was made for private consumption and for love, as was embroidery, it was considered mindless, a "woman's" art. Parker, by tracing the contradictory reception of embroidery through history, shows that the definitions of gender differences as well as those of art and artists are not constant but changeable over time.

Michael Baxandall in his *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* shows us that not only does the definition of art and artists change over time, but also the "period eye" changes:

> Cultures do not impose uniform cognitive and reflective equipment on individuals. People differ in occupational experiences... . At any time painters have special occupational ways of seeing too, and these are obviously powerfully in play in pictures. But cultures also facilitate certain kinds of cognitive development in large classes of their members. Living in a culture, growing up and learning to survive in it, involves us in a special perceptual training. It endows us with habits and skills of discrimination that affect the way we deal with the new data that sensation offers the mind. And because the trick of pictures — that is, making a flat plane to suggest the tree — dimensional — puts a premium on expectation and visual inference, it is sensitive to otherwise marginal differences in the beholder's equipment.[11]

According to Baxandall, Renaissance period eye derived a major part of its origin from Vassari's Euclidean perspective and binocular vision. It also had a lot to do with "gauging" or sizing up of objects — skills that were mandatory for survival in commercial transactions at a time when standardized measurements or containers were non-existent: "previously a container — barrel, sack, or bale — was unique, and calculating its volume quickly and accurately was a condition of business."[12] Another aspect of the social milieu of quattrocento Italy that helped in the formation of the period eye was dancing during religious pageants and street theatre. Ritualistic social dancing gave Italians opportunities to practice understanding motives and meaning, which they could apply when looking at pictorial patterns: "If we observe that Piero della Francesca tends to a gauged sort of painting, Fra Angelico to a preached sort of painting, and Botticelli to a danced sort of painting, we are observing something not only about them but about their society."[13] As this quote implies, not all quattrocento painters painted alike, but their training had increasingly become standardized and in accordance with the wishes of their patrons.

Artists increasingly were expected to possess the same knowledge as their patrons. In Italy the education of artists was controlled by the male-operated guilds, and patronage was increasingly shared by state and church. Vassari, the man who legitimated the break between arts and crafts in his treatise *Arti del Disegno,* in 1563 formed the Academia del Disegno, or Academy of Art, in Florence, which would become the model for academies in Italy and other European countries. With the establishment of more academies, the emphasis in art practice shifted even further from skill to intellectual claims. Artists increasingly saw themselves as members of the intelligentsia, who were educated in the academies rather than being trained in the bottegas. This education gave upward mobility to the male artists, bringing them closer to their patrons. The few women who were accepted in the academies did not come from the lower classes — as did male painters — but were members of the bourgeoisie and most of those who were able to practise their art were wives or relatives of male painters.[14] The art academies, following the lead of the natural sciences, professionalized art practice and increasingly rationalized its study. When study of the nude was made mandatory in the middle of the fifteenth century — in order better to train painters in religious or allegorical painting — women were further marginalized by being kept out of nude classes in order to protect their morals.[15] The training consisted of instruction in ancient mythology, Latin oratory, religious allegories, and speaking, as well as training in mathematical formulations affecting visual perspective and knowledge of the new kinds of paint. Above all, however, was study of the personalities and symbols from antiquity that were favoured by their patrons, the patrons who had dabbled in humanistic scholarship and believed that art should not only appeal to the senses but should also express the social, religious, and political status quo.

In fifteenth-century Florence we see the contemporary art world epitomized: the arena, the rules, and the main players were in place. Later changes were matters of degree, not of substance. During the next three hundred and fifty years, with the emergence of the romantic myth, male artists attained the status of diviners of truth. This progression began with their romantic semi-divine status and moved to the contemporary position of eccentricity, exoticism, and strangeness of the successive artistic avant-gardes. When Florence later lost its intellectual and artistic hegemony to France in the seventeenth century, and then to England, the art academies gave way to the dealers and critics of the emerging bourgeoisie.

France

During the seventeenth century the cultural leadership of Europe was transferred from Italy to France: many of the Italian Renaissance ideas were accepted by the French but altered owing to the different patronage system. The patrons in France, though not numerous, had grown wealthy from renting out their land. The king, the court, the aristocracy, and high-level civil servants were patrons of the arts, but the art they commissioned was not the religious and mythical allegorical paintings of Florence, but smaller decorative pieces that did not require special knowledge to enjoy.[16] Although the French modelled their academies after those of Italy, they were all controlled by the central government. Richelieu in 1635 established the Académie Francaise for the study of poetry, literature, and language in general. In 1648 the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture was established by Mazarin and immediately began removing painters from their medieval guilds and raising them to the level of inspired artists, akin to university professors. The same period saw the rise and emancipation of the natural sciences, an event that accelerated the construction of critical and theoretical literature on painting, sculpture, and architecture.[17]

The Academy set the standards of theme, style, and execution and established the reward system through its control of the annual salon exhibitions. As in Italy, some women relatives of male painters were allowed in the academies — but again prevented from studying nudes, which resulted in women working on portraits, still lives, and floral paintings. By the end of the eighteenth century, France had established thirty-three provincial academies, all closely affiliated with and controlled by the Royal academy in Paris. Although the French academies had retained most of the training curriculum of their Italian counterparts, their administration reflected the absolutism of the French kings. By controlling the membership of the academy, a king controlled the prevailing style, which reflected his own taste. Painters who wanted to succeed — even those who might have survived away from the stronghold of the guilds — had to became court painters; once again, the painter became a social accessory to the nobility, as in the Middle Ages. But the relationship between artist and patron in medieval Europe was part of the natural progression of everyday life;

it had now become, for the first time, a mechanism for social advancement on both sides, artists and nobility.[18]

As the number of academies grew, a larger and larger number of professional painters — painters who were expected to make a middle-class living through the sale of paintings — graduated. Painters were still recruited from the artisan classes, but their education allowed them upward mobility, bringing them closer to their patrons. At the same time, the patron class was changing in its composition — it now consisted mostly of wealthy merchants, bankers, and businessmen whose main interest was cultural legitimation through the purchase of art. The voracious appetite of this moneyed group of patrons, coupled with their lack of scholarship, necessitated the creation of portable paintings (downsized for their townhomes) and promoted the proliferation of pastoral scenes as opposed to classical allegories.

While France was producing more and more painters, all of them dependant on the centralized reward system and patronage, in tiny Holland a different historical experiment was taking place. The Dutch system was similar to the medieval guild system, but painters paid an annual tax/licence fee and were free to paint whatever they liked and sell to whomever they pleased. For the first time in Europe, painters painted for a market, creating a niche for another player to enter the art world: the art dealer. For a while this new arrangement worked effectively; there were enough minor painters for a public with limited taste and a passion for collecting. A centralized academic system was in tension with the republican tendencies of

Holland, as well as with the principals of a free market, so training there was left to successful painters who charged their students an instructional fee.[19]

An open market was forced on the French system, not as a result of a free market, but because the reward system was still tightly controlled by the Royal Academy in Paris — and more importantly, because the provincial academies kept graduating many more painters than could possibly be accommodated by the central reward system. Large numbers of these graduates, lured by the increasing numbers of the bourgeoisie, began to speculate — producing many paintings in the hopes that they would eventually be bought. This speculation, though, had a high price: having lost the patronage of the church and state, these painters had to provide for all their costs, including studio rent, model fees, paints, and canvas. And the overproduction of portable paintings introduced to French painting what was already familiar in Holland — the art dealer. Some businessmen saw an opportunity to create new outlets for the exhibition and sale of paintings, bypassing the official academic system and targeting as potential buyers the swelling middle class. They opened galleries selling contemporary paintings — mostly pastoral scenes — not only because their clients were not humanistically educated, but also because they recruited painters who had failed or skirted academic training. These dealers treated paintings like any other commodity — for profit only; but they lacked the legitimation of the salons. In order to compete with the publicity of the annual salon exhibitions, they hired writers to extol their galleries' shows, to cover the openings as if they were important events. These writers acted as "go-betweens" for dealers/galleries and potential buyers.

Some attached themselves to financially successful dealers or galleries and began to carve out a place for themselves as "art critics," adding one more player to the increasingly specialized "art world." Thus, the market became the basis for the production of art. Art dealers were the new patrons of the arts, and they were entrepreneurs who saw an opportunity to make a profit. For the first time the relationship between the producers and recipients of art was not a special one but was part of the general economic agency.

This new patronage system (which for the first time allowed many more painters and paintings than there were buyers) was well established by the mid-nineteenth century, and the resulting changes to contemporary ideologies and structures were as crucial as the shifts in the art world that took place during fifteenth-century Florence. Women were admitted freely to the academies and other art institutions during this time, a period when many artists were rebelling against the academic rules of painting, both in technique and content. A series of avant-garde movements appeared, most notably impressionism. With its free painting style and its insistence on scenes of daily life incorporating persons and objects from the immediate environment, impressionism brought into vogue something that women had been doing for a long time, painting scenes from everyday life. But although women were allowed access to training, their marginal status in the art world allowed men to retain supremacy regardless of the economic, social, and other changes that were taking place, thanks to the ideological notions of women's art and their capabilities as artists, which had carried over from the Italian Renaissance.

England

The English art system was very much influenced by what had happened in Paris throughout the latter part of the seventeenth century. But increasingly during the eighteenth century, the English were influenced by their own authors, such as the Earl of Shaftesbury and Sir Joshua Reynolds, the first president of the Royal Academy (established in 1768) as well as the author of Discourses on Art. Prior to the establishment of the academy, the English trained their artists through apprenticeship and visits to the continent to study the art of ancient Greece and of the Renaissance artists; they had established societies of artists whose main purpose was the dissemination of their members' work. The opening of the academy formalized the recruitment and training of artists as well as developing a monopoly over the determination of what is great art. Of the twenty-two founding members of the academy, two were women, Mary Moser and Angelica Kauffman. One might think that the inclusion of women in the academy signified progress for female painters (women were not allowed to be members in the societies of artists),[20] but the contrary was the case. An indication of the unresolved tension vis-à-vis painting and women is given by a celebratory painting, *The Academicians of the Royal Academy* (1772), done by Johann Zoffany (himself a founder) and now part of the Royal Academy collection:

> A group portrait of connoisseurs admiring the Classical and Renaissance collections. The Academicians are shown in casual, confident poses, dressed as gentlemen of rank, participating in a discussion of the nude. They are in the life-room of the Royal Academy, surrounded by classical casts and life models. Within academic curriculum the study of the naked human form was the most privileged course, and the nude was considered to be the basis for the supreme

> achievements of great artists. The Academicians are presented as learned and at ease with their learning. They were men of reason. Thus Zoffany's painting can be seen as both a portrait and an idealized depiction. It is about eighteenth-century notions of the nature of the artist and the manner in which art should be pursued and practised... . In the interest of historical accuracy Moser and Kauffman could not be entirely excluded from an official group portrait of the Academicians, but they could not be included in a group discussing the nude model. Women were not allowed by the Academy to study in the life-class and this prohibition may have been so strong that Zoffany could not, even in a painting, show women Academicians in the same room as naked male models. It is nevertheless strange that Zoffany indicated their membership of the Academy only by murky, uninformative and almost unrecognizable portraits on the right-hand wall. He did not even depict their faces with the same scrupulous care that enables us to identify all of their male colleagues.[21]

Although England did not experience the revolutionary upheavals of France — in 1789, 1830, and 1848 — and the subsequent redefinition of art that gave us the ideologies of romanticism and realism, an endless journey of redefinition, of changes, social, economic, political, did occur in England that affected both aesthetic standards patronage.[22] The number of patrons was smaller than in France; they consisted of wealthy landowners who preferred continental art and an increasing number of industrialists who preferred contemporary paintings, as they were easier to understand and less of a risk than masterpieces, which frequently turned out to be forgeries.[23] Sir Joshua Reynolds might have been looking backwards to classical antiquity and high Renaissance for standards of execution and inspiration of subject matter, but in England outside the academy there was already a tradition and market established for landscape art and portraiture (beginning in the seventeenth century with imported Dutch and Flemish cabinet pictures),[24] an art form that would acquire much higher stature in the late eighteenth century when it came to be known as art in the "great manner."

Gainsborough's *Mr. and Mrs. Andrews* a portrait done in the great manner, depicts the Andrews with their prized property in the background, posed as proud owners. This portrait has evoked an interesting exchange between three contemporary art historians and critics as to the type of painting and its execution. Kenneth Clark finds the portrait to be an "enchanting work painted with such love and mastery" guided by a "Rousseauist appreciation of nature." Asks John Berger,

> "Why did Mr. and Mrs. Andrews commission a portrait of themselves with a recognizable landscape of their own land as background? They are not a couple in Nature as Rousseau imagined nature. They are landowners and their proprietary attitude towards what surrounds them is visible in their stance and expressions.... The point being made is that, among the pleasures their portrait gave to Mr. and Mrs. Andrews, was the pleasure of seeing themselves depicted as landowners and this pleasure was enhanced by the ability of oil paint to render their land in all its substantiality."

And Laurence Gowing replies to Berger:

> "Before John Berger manages to interpose himself again between us and the visible meaning of a good picture, may I point out that there is evidence to confirm that Gainsborough's *Mr. and Mrs. Andrews* were doing something more with their stretch of country than merely owning it. The explicit theme of a contemporary and precisely analogous design by Gainsborough's mentor Francis Hayman suggests that the people in such pictures were engaged in philosophic enjoyment of the great Principle ... the genuine Light of uncorrupted and unperverted ***Nature***."[25]

John Berger is not the first to make a strong case for extra-aesthetic factors affecting fundamental changes in taste and patronage. Francis Haskell's *Rediscoveries in Art: Some Aspects of Taste, Fashion and Collecting in England and France* examines the role that ownership, dealer's successes, and critical writing (seldom neutral) affected "rediscoveries" of Renaissance painters in the years between 1790 and 1870. Specifically, he examines changes in aesthetic fashion influenced by extra-aesthetic issues such as "the availability to the collector or connoisseur of recognized masterpieces; the impact of contemporary art; the religious or political loyalties that may condition certain aesthetic standpoints; the effects of public and private collection; the impression made by the new techniques of reproduction and language in spreading fresh beliefs about art and artists."[26]

One of the most important innovations that has evolved from the English artistic structure is not the differing views of critics and art historians, but the social and economic attitudes towards the nineteenth-century artists and governmental involvement in the arts. Both the government and artists were dissatisfied with the state of the arts, the role of the academy, and the role of patronage. In 1798 the House of Commons established a "Committee of Taste" composed of non-professionals to judge commissioned works to decorate public buildings and oversee money spent for their acquisition. The English artists were the first to organize themselves in societies to benefit their membership, and the English government was the first to investigate the welfare artists and to apply ideas from political economy to management of the arts. Owing to the government's involvement, nineteenth-century English artists developed the notion of an arms-length policy, a policy that would allow artists to solicit financial assistance from the government yet require freedom in how the aid is spent.[27]

Canada

Art removed from its everyday praxis came to Canada via its French and English settlers;[28] art as a separate and autonomous institution was established after Confederation as result of efforts by a number of Canada's viceroys to create a "national culture,"[29] in which they were assisted by the Canadian Pacific Railway.[30] The significant persons in the early Canadian art institutions were all British born and raised. Institutions and activities such as the Royal Academy, art collecting (public and private), art historical writing, and the art market were all modelled after the art world of London, which had copied Paris, which had in turn had copied Renaissance Florence. Lord Bessborough, in a speech given in 1926 to the Canadian Society of Painters in Water Colour, said that "the central culture of civilization (comprised) that great tradition which is the heritage of the English and the French peoples.... there might be other cultures in the world, but they are not ours and ... do not mix well with ours."[31] Maria Tippet's *Making Culture* clearly explains which art and art practice received support: that which modelled itself on the British imperial model. The building of the Canadian Pacific Railway was seen as the means to unite this vast country from sea to sea" and in so doing, to bring the "alien elements" found, especially on the prairies, under the civilizing gaze of British custom. Sir William Van Horne, the CPR's first general manager, announced a policy — the first of its kind — offering free passage on the CPR for artists willing to paint "picturesque" renditions of the landscape to be used in posters, brochures, and other advertising materials being produced by his company, as well as to decorate the

CPR's offices throughout North America and the continent.[32] Van Horne used his money to amass a large collection of paintings of Canada, and further (in a move that would have a lasting effect on the world of fine arts in Canada) used his contacts and influence to provide exhibition spaces and other legitimating mechanisms/strategies of patronage. These actions, coupled with similar ones by the viceroys, quickly established an artistic field in the colony that had its historical roots in continental Europe and whose agents intended only to guarantee the glory of the British empire. A "national"[33] school was eventually established in central Canada under the influence of the Group of Seven, but on the prairies another British employee of the CPR provided a creative solution for all the "alien elements" that did not mix well. John Murray Gibbon, general agent of publicity in charge of both advertising and public relations, set the mould for what would become the "folk" or "heritage" arts in Canada, and most importantly, he provided the visual metaphor of Canada as a "mosaic."[34] Eventually the "alien elements" of the prairie provinces and elsewhere in Canada would be looked after by the Multiculturalism Act and further removed from the fine arts tradition, which remained resolutely centralist in nature and temperament. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, when Canadian universities began expanding rapidly, they needed personnel — and fine arts departments were no exception. Artists and art historians were imported from Britain and the United States; this second generation of art practitioners went quietly about their jobs — doing art/art history — the old way: collecting only data that could be catalogued in pre-existing categories, that Canada might create an art tradition other than European never entered their thoughts.

Edmonton

According to available data[35], the first person to paint professionally in Edmonton was Paul Kane, an Englishman who lived in Toronto. Kane first visited Fort Edmonton in 1846 in his exploration of Canada's northwest; he made some journalistic sketches of the fort. His artistic education was by late-nineteenth-century standards somewhat limited: one trip to Europe, where he spent his time viewing continental art and copying the Italian masters. Paul Kane is typical of the early painters who came west — itinerant or settler, they were almost all English and were journalists, surveyors, or military men with ease in drawing or the use of watercolours. Kane became a successful artist-adventurer and was fascinated by the native populace — he made his life's goal the painting of the Indians of North America. His mentor in this subject matter was George Catlin, an American painter of the West, who painted in the nineteenth-century Italian style. From his travel diaries we learn that Kane was curious and ambitious and eventually succeeded in establishing himself as the foremost painter of the West. Kane worked in a manner similar to that of other painter-adventurers; he did quick sketches on the spot during his travels and returned to Toronto to make his oil paintings. One sees a big difference between his sketches and his paintings: the sketches were freer and more documentary than the oil paintings. Once those sketches were transferred to canvas, some of the documentary details remained, but the overall effect of the picture was of nineteenth-century Europe rather than the Canadian West. He rearranged the seating and posture of his subjects so they would be pleasant to viewers; the skies in the background are almost always stormy; and the horses were not local stock, but the Arabian stallions found in European paintings of hunting scenes. If a buffalo hunt was shown, it was depicted very much like the European aristocratic hunt rather than the way hunting took place in Alberta, events that Kane saw first-hand, sketched, and described in his travel diaries. Kane painted the West in a manner that his European audience would have liked — wild but picturesque.

Between 1860 and 1890, Alberta began to change rapidly. The short-lived gold rush of the "Overlanders of 62" brought not only more prospectors, engineers, and policemen but also more settlers. In 1871 George McDougall built Edmonton's first protestant church and in 1874 the North-West Mounted Police arrived at the fort. And sometime between 1862 and 1882, Pére Emil Petitot, a French Oblate missionary, painted Fort Edmonton (one of his paintings is now hung in the Legislative Assembly). He was apparently an inventive as well as a gifted painter: he made his own brushes from animal hair and mixed his own paints by binding ochres with fish oil.[36] Another one to work in the city was R. W. Rutherford who in 1885 made a series of pencil and watercolour sketches of the Edmonton area; he too was an English soldier by training rather than a painter, and like his countrymen, he helped establish the subsequent fascination of Canadians with landscape painting.

Edmonton was incorporated as a city in 1904 (with population of five thousand), and Alberta became a province in 1905. With the establishment of cities, the extension of the Mounted Police, and the completion of the railroad, more people came out west, not only to paint, kill buffalo, or look for gold, but also to settle; the first farming and ranching communities started to develop close to the U.S. border. It was during the early part of this century that professional painters made their appearance in the West — in 1911, Frederic Varley, A.Y. Jackson, and Emily Carr visited Edmonton and painted the area.

Most of the early interest and artistic activity in painting in Alberta occurred in Calgary probably because it was on the CPR's route and was the largest city close to Banff, the jewel in the CPR's crown. In 1926 the Provincial Institute of Technology and Art was established in Calgary. The "Tech," as it was referred to, became the first place in the West to offer instructors who were trained painters, producing the first locally trained painters in Alberta. The first teacher was Lars Hawkness, an impressionist painter who did not stay long; he was succeeded by A. C. Leighton, an Englishman, the second teacher at the Tech. Leighton was instrumental in founding the Alberta Society of Artists, the Calgary Art Club, and the Summer School of Fine Arts in Banff. H. G. Glyde succeeded Leighton at the Tech and played an important role in shaping the history of painting in Alberta. Glyde became head of the arts department at both the University of Alberta and the Banff School and was a friend of A. Y. Jackson. J. W. Phillips, internationally known for his colour woodcuts, taught at the Tech and made a name for himself as a watercolourist. These English painter-teachers were educated in the naturalistic style of the nineteenth-century English school, and they trained the first generation of Alberta artists.

Events in Edmonton occurred at a slower pace. In 1914 the Edmonton Art Association was founded to establish the importance of art in everyday life and to counteract the idea that art was a frill that could be dropped from schools during times of austerity.[37] Records show that in 1921 William Johnstone was the only professional artist working in the city; that same year the Edmonton Art Club was formed, absorbing the Art Association. The Club's first show took place in April 1922 in the Board of Trade rooms in the Mcleod Block. That exhibit drew mixed reviews: the art was found to carry "a certain element of crudity," but the overall effort was deemed "a very promising beginning."[38] The club's aims were "to encourage production of original work among its members by means of monthly meetings during which guests are invited to give constructive criticism of work brought to the meetings, and of holding exhibitions."[39] A selecting jury/committee reviewed the work of incoming members, who were not expected to be professionals, but to remain in good standing had to bring five works for review during the year and leave their work to show in the club's annual exhibits. Some of the club's early members went on to gain commercial acclaim in the art world, became founding teachers of the painting community, or became directors of the Edmonton Art Gallery (as did Dr. R. W. Hedley and Mr. P. H. Henson, who became the second and third directors of the gallery). J. Gordon Sinclair, the first secretary of the club, was quoted in the *Edmonton Journal*: "We formed the club in 1920, the same year as the Group of Seven. We had twice as many members as they did, but they got better publicity."[40] According to Thelma Manarey, "We live in a state of uncertainty [1970] and rapid change and art reflects this. However, I also think in many cases we have people jumping on band wagons and choosing the easiest forms because they don't want to learn techniques."[41] Emphasis on technique, landscape, and genre painting has remained the focus and forte of the Edmonton Art Club, an association that is still active, averaging about forty-five members.

In 1923 representative members from the Edmonton Art Club, and the Applied Arts Committee of the Local Council of Women formed a new organization whose purpose was the establishment of a museum. Mrs. Maude Bowman in 1924 led the incorporation of the Edmonton Museum of Arts, whose aims were "to establish, own, and control and to maintain museums, galleries and libraries; to acquire books, manuscripts, and scientific collections and objects of fine and industrial arts; to institute and support schools, and to provide lectures, instruction and entertainment in the furtherance of the general purpose of the Society."[42] Mrs. Bowman, who became the museum's first director, spoke of its mission: "Because we believe that Edmonton cannot fulfil her destiny as a great city unless she realizes the potency of art education as a factor in her development, we appeal to her citizens to come to the support of one of the most important movements of the day. It is the mission of The Edmonton Museum of Arts to show things of value in human experience, things that will guide the mind into productive and inspiring channels."[43] The museum had its first exhibit in the Palm Room of the Hotel MacDonald, that show included borrowed works from the National Gallery by such noted painters as Maurice Cullen, Lauren Harris, and Arthur Lismer. Patrons could for the first time buy art at low prices by today's standards: an Emily Carr sold for forty dollars, J. E. H. MacDonald for two hundred, and Frederic Varley for fifteen hundred.[44]

During the 1930s and 1940s the museum experienced growth, but it was slow. The depression and drought of the 1930s devastated the prairies, and the Museum suffered financially. Although the purchase of works all but halted to a work per year, the commitment to art and art education grew. Maude Bowman started the first children's classes before she resigned from her duties in 1943 owing to ill health. R. W. Hedly was hired as the new director, with the explicit intent to improve the museum's lot. He decided to expand the art classes to teens and adults and set out to increase revenue through increased membership. He established *The Edmonton Museum of Arts Monthly Bulletin* to better inform the existing patrons and cultivate new ones; he initiated a fee of two dollars per season for Saturday morning classes and oversaw the formation of the Women's Society. As the museum became more visible in the community, so did the opinions of the public in the pages of the local press. A reviewer at the *Edmonton Journal*, referring to an exhibit of works by three immigrants from England, H. G. Glyde, W. J. Phillips, and Murray MacDonald, wrote: "Edmonton art lovers, who in the past few weeks have been offered a menu of various types of non-conservative paintings ... are due for a heaping dish of good, old-fashioned fare in the exhibit [showing Florence Mortimer and Roland Gissing]."[45]

And a Mrs. C. Cote wrote a letter to the editor: "Modern art is not merely flippant, nor casual in execution. Two wars and several revelations have changed the whole basis of aesthetics ... with a technique deliberately loose and crude, the rational critical faculty of the spectator is left aside, allowing the emotions to receive the impasse of colour and forms ... although requiring a skill surely much rarer than we might at first suppose."[46] This 1946 exchange set the pattern of talking with or to the Edmonton Art Gallery, which is what the Edmonton museum of Arts became in 1956 after its board pondered the role of the Museum. It was decided that, given its resources, the museum should become an art gallery rather than just focus on a historic role. Times had definitely changed from the 1920s, when Maude Bowman stated: "Because of financial limitations, we have been forced to restrict our efforts to exhibiting pictures and trying to create an interest in fine arts. Important and necessary as this work is, it is not our only function. We are a museum of arts, not an art museum, and only when we have established an applied art section, a section for industrial (arts), a scientific section and one of historic objects shall we have begun to do the thing we set out to do."[47] But in no year were the changes more dramatic than in 1947.

The year 1947 was a landmark one for the history of painting in Alberta: (a) oil was struck in Edmonton, which would dramatically change the economy of the province; (b) the institute in Calgary was flooded with war veterans, a cohort that would mature artistically in the 1950s and 1960s and provide the largest, most successful number of Alberta painters, and (c) Illingworth Kerr from Lumsden, Saskatchewan, became the new director at the Institute in Calgary, and became openly enthusiastic about abstraction, the kind promulgated by one of his instructors, the Scottish-born abstract painter Jock Macdonald.

As Edmonton became servicing centre of the expanding oil industry, industry, money and culture moved to that city in the post-war years. In 1956, the Provincial Museum of Alberta was proclaimed and in 1967 opened its doors. Two years later, the Edmonton Art Gallery moved to its present location in the Arthur Bow Condell Memorial Art Gallery Building. In 1946 H. G. Glyde, who until that time was head of the Art Department at the Institute of Technology and Art in Calgary, was hired by the University of Alberta to establish a visual arts program. At first Glyde was a one-man department; he taught drawing, composition, painting, and art history himself. In 1952 the department was allowed to offer courses for a diploma in fine arts, and then to provide bachelor's and masters degrees in fine arts.[48]

The 1960s and 1970s were boom years not only for the economy but for the art world of painting in Edmonton. During the late 1960s and early 1970s all Canadian universities experienced tremendous growth, and the Fine Arts Department at the University of Alberta was no exception. During this second surge and thrust of painting in Edmonton, an Englishman once again played an important role: Ron Davey as chairman of the department was instrumental in hiring many of the new faculty who were mostly English and young and almost all abstract painters or sculptors. Davey's hiring temperament is still felt within Edmonton's art world of painting: thanks to tenure, his faculty still dominate the teaching direction of painting, if not the marketplace in Edmonton.

In 1970 Ring House (the building on the University of Alberta campus that served as the official residence of Henry Tory Marshall, and of subsequent presidents until 1959) was opened as a gallery and became the University Art Gallery and Museum. Its exhibits at first were based on the various university collections as well as exhibits brought from around the world. In 1978 it became the Ring House Gallery, and under the directorship of Helen Collinson provided space for types of art that one might not see in other city galleries (both locally produced and international). Following a financially challenging year in 1974, in which the gallery was forced to temporarily close, the Ring House provided a popular spot for alternative art for over ten years, finally closing its doors in December 1988.[49] But if the university was losing one gallery, it was gaining another, albeit more specialized. Early in 1987, the Fine Arts Building Gallery, known as FAB, opened its doors with an exhibit of the department's graduate students' work (1970-86). The gallery, said Rick Chenier, Department chair at the time of its inauguration,

> "intended to serve a vital function in the teaching process and, to be successful, it must stimulate and challenge staff and students alike.... The Department acknowledges its responsibility to the community and aspires to the community and aspires to play a visible leadership role in the cultural milieu.... To a large extent activities in the gallery will serve as a barometer to measure the success of the Department's efforts to achieve excellence in all aspects of its undertakings,"[50]

In 1972 the Alberta Art Foundation was formed by the Department of Culture of the provincial government; its mandate was to encourage and support practising visual artists within the province through the collection and exhibition of their work. The foundation supported and collected arts and crafts without discriminating on style. It was run by a board of nine members, all of whom were political appointees and were chosen from within the broad artistic community: artists, historians, collectors. In 1981 the Beaver House Gallery opened, providing a showcase for the foundation's acquisitions and a further legitimating step to young up and coming artists. The foundation lent its collection to various government departments and large corporations, organized exhibits, and kept a file on works purchased and the artists that produced them. It was dismantled in the spring of 1991 — it will now be part of the Alberta Foundation of the Arts, which has also subsumed the former Alberta Foundation for the Literary Arts and Alberta Foundation of the Performing Arts.

By many peoples' accounts, Alberta had "blossomed into an arts Mecca."[51] The visual arts scene during the 1970s was busy not only within government and other public institutions: a booming economy, a flourishing construction industry, and an increasing number of painters graduated by the Arts and Design Department at the University of Alberta further fuelled rapid development of Edmonton's art infrastructure. From just a handful in the downtown area only, the number of Edmonton's art galleries grew into more than twenty concentrated in the West End — the "Loop", became Edmonton's answer to Toronto's Yorkville. First Lefebvre

Gallery moved west, then the Eagle Down Gallery, Sequoia, the Hett Gallery, Horizon Galleries, the West End Gallery, and the Downstairs Gallery, which was renamed The Woldjen/Udell Gallery. Why the massive exodus?: Attractively priced real estate, quaint old homes in an upscale neighbourhood, and the festive synergies of the market place. "We want to encourage people to go from gallery to gallery and to do some comparative shopping.... This is an oasis of art, where people can spend a full day browsing and come away feeling edified," said Margaret Denhoff, owner of the Eagle Down Gallery, "One Saturday I had seventy-five people come in, as a run-off from the West End Gallery," said Janice Campbell, co-owner of Horizon Art Galleries; and John Arends, owner of Lefebvre Gallery, suggested, "Let's make openings a happening.... We could have popcorn vendors, musicians, and jugglers out on the streets — hundreds of people would come."[52] The Old Strathcona district provided a south-side counterpart to the Art Gallery Loop with Graphica Art Gallery, Fireweed Gallery, Oxford Galleries, and the most ambitious of all, the Martin Gerard Gallery, run by Martin Shewchuck: "I could have located in the Gallery Loop, but I wanted to be known as the Martin Gerard Gallery. I don't want to be associated with anyone.... I want people to come here to learn about art. They won't find schlock on the walls here. I can't sell art I don't feel good about."[53] Downtown one found the Vik Gallery, the Manhattan Gallery, the Bearclaw Gallery, and a host of other "mixed-bag" galleries selling crafts, posters, and paints along with paintings and sculptures. In 1982, when Terry Fenton, then director of the

Edmonton Art Gallery, was asked by *The Edmonton Journal's* Gretchen Pierce what he thought of the boom in commercial galleries, he replied that

> The well-managed ones will survive the perils of fluctuating economy.... Some galleries start with the idea that money grows on trees. But they find out that selling art, like anything, must be done with an eye to catering to the marketplace"; and he added, "It [the gallery] requires a peculiar person, not necessarily an artist, but with artistic leanings combined with hard business sense.... But art is one of the most difficult commodities to sell."[54]

Not many of Edmonton's art dealers heeded Terry Fenton's business advice — many of the galleries mentioned above had closed down by the end of the decade.

Edmonton has its artist-run/non-profit gallery, Latitude 53; the Latitude Society of Arts was formed in 1973 with Harry Savage and Sylvain Foyer acting as catalysts in transplanting some of the 1960s ideas to the Edmonton of the 1970s. From its inception, Latitude 53 was meant to be an avant-garde space for artists uninterested in the commercialism of the mainstream. In reality, most of its members have been active commercially as well. Glen Guillett, a Latitude member who was on a steering committee in search of new space for the gallery, conveys the gallery's Janus-like subconscious: "The new Latitude 53 gallery would be part of a commercial gallery area that occupies a three-to-five block area.... Commercial galleries in the area would welcome a non-competitive culture centre which would attract new customers."[55]

During the same period, the late 1970s and early 1980s when the "official art world" was trying to adapt to aesthetic and economic fluctuations, a parallel life was developing, one that celebrated big spectacles sports, art festivals, and the biggest mall in the world. Edmonton became a City of Champions and the Festival City in Canada. First was Jazz City, then the Edmonton Music Festival, then the Fringe, then SummerFest, then Art Tour and Detour, then The Works, as well as the familiar K-days and the Heritage Festival. Summer became the time when the art world tried to transform the public through art experiencing, bringing art to the people. An art fair/festival that began in 1979 and gained popularity during the Universiade games has remained a summer staple, apart from the downtown, more upscale "fests": the Art Park draws crowds that come to enjoy a day in the park filled with music, games, food vendors, and jugglers as well as artists selling oil paintings, pottery, watercolours, jewellery, and sculptures of all kinds. The Art Park became what the "Loop" had hoped to be; participants prefer it because, as so many of them say, "they do not understand much of the downtown art." The event is co-sponsored by the city's Parks and Recreation Department, *The Edmonton Journal*, and the Art Park Society, and it runs over a series of five Sundays at Borden Park. It offers an opportunity to "hobby-artists and artists new to the city to show their work."[56] "A lot of amateur artists are only able to display their art in the park.... We need the exposure and there are not many places that you can get it without having to pay a great percentage of your profits,"[57] painter Bernice Cissell. The public seems to appreciate the opportunity and many first-time buyers obtain art for their home at very low prices. In the words of Bonnie Magee, co-ordinator of Art Park, "People come here knowing there are going to be affordable, good-quality works"; of Willie

Wong, a painter, "When I started out, it gave me the confidence I needed"; and of Rus Hewitt, a photographer, "People still have a tough time considering photography as a fine art, plus there are only two photo galleries in Edmonton."[58]

When the Edmonton Museum of Arts was established in 1924 under the directorship of Mrs. Maude Bowman, she and the other club/board members were guided by the nineteenth-century belief that the function of a museum or gallery was to be a conservatory, where the institution bought, preserved, and collected in order to exhibit at some later point. Museums, by removing art and other objects from circulation, elevate them to a priceless status and at the same time perpetuate the idealist myth that art is timeless. Today, this function remains basic to museums, with some minor changes necessitated by the changing patronage system: museums must court donations of collections by persons or industry to overcome funding shortfalls, and increasingly they either sell some of their not-so-timeless masterpieces or exchange them for exchange new works. As artist Daniel Buren stated, nothing structurally important has changed in the exhibition system since the nineteenth century; to this date, the original triple roll of the museum remains the same:[59]

> 1) Aesthetic: The Museum is the frame and effective support upon which the work is inscribed/composed. It is at once the centre in which the action takes place and the single (topographical and cultural) viewpoint for the work.
> 2) Economic: The Museum/Gallery gives a sales value to what it exhibits,has privileged/selected. By preserving or extracting it from the commonplace, the Museum promotes the work socially, thereby assuring its exposure and consumption.
> 3) Mystical: The Museum/Gallery instantly promotes to "Art" status what it exhibits with conviction, i.e., habit, thus diverting in advance any attempt to question the foundations of art without taking into consideration the place from

> which the question is put. The Museum (the Gallery) constitutes the mystical body of Art.

As far as art establishments go, Edmonton's art world of painting is as complete as one may find away from the major international art centres like New York, London, Berlin, or Paris. The Edmonton Art Gallery is not only its oldest art institution but was and still is its most important, not because of age but because of its nature: it is the museum/gallery, the contemporary institution that took over the role of the Renaissance academies. There is the Fine Arts and Design Department at the University of Alberta, which has played a secondary role to the EAG: the university graduates the painters, the half dozen galleries provide the first step of singularization/commodification of paintings, and the EAG consecrates both artists and objects alike. The rest of the institutions, such as parallel galleries, festivals, and government foundations, have never developed concrete identities that have defined their role — that role depends on who sits on their committees, and how much money they can get from the government — and they straddle categories and genres. A similar blurring of identities/roles is found amongst the actors of the art world: "The collector who acts as a dealer when the opportunity for a profit arises; the curator who doubles as a critic in magazine articles, speeches and catalogue introductions; the critic (this is a new development) who, operating as combination art director and promoter, instructs a stable of painters on how to paint and praises their work in the art press and from the lecture platform."[60]

In the pages that follow, I will attempt to describe how the central institution is seen within the wider cultural topography of Edmonton's art world by following the opinions and altitudes of the public as they have been reported through the local media; the next chapter will cover the same topics, but the description, opinions, and attitudes will be those of the actors of the art world. The span will be the decade of the 1980s, a decade that began amidst high disposable incomes, and political and economic stability (in the beginning at least) and ended with economic uncertainty and personnel changes in the EAG that might have left any other institution crippled. Not so with the museum, in this case, the institution has remained intact.

For the Edmonton Art Gallery, the 1980s began without much controversy, with the exception of a fracas originating with Alderperson Olivia Butti, who created quite a stir by opposing a grant to the EAG of $190,000 for its operating budget. Butti claimed that she had received calls from her constituency alleging that the gallery displayed "pornography," and until a thorough investigation was undertaken she wanted the grant application tabled. Alderperson Ron Hayter stated that the council "would be heading on very dangerous ground if we try to censor or influence the art gallery in selecting paintings.... It seems most of the complaints were around nudity. Usually people who complain they don't like to see people in the nude and when you look at them, you can see why." Her motion was defeated, and in addition City Hall covered the previous year's operating budget deficit.[61]

When the provincial government decided to spend $1.35 million on art for the legislative grounds, the opposition led by the NDP's Grant Notley, called the decision a "frill." The government had plans to spend part of the money on three works to be placed around an outdoor fountain, and two for the underground pedways, among other locations. Walter Buck, a Socred MLA, commented: "You need art down there like you need a spare head. If we're going to pay the artists good money, let's not put it somewhere no-one would see it." Mary LeMessurier, then minister of culture, replied that the thrust of the Legislative Grounds Art Acquisition Program was to encourage art production in Alberta and Canada; the minister thought that the taxpayers would not be concerned about the costs for art that might never been seen by them.[62] But apparently some Albertans, and specifically some Edmontonians, did count their money that went to support the arts. Elaine Byford, membership supervisor for the Edmonton Art Gallery, said that "about 26 per cent of family members have not signed up again — mainly because of the uncertain economic climate.... this [1982] is the first year that the gallery has experienced such a dramatic drop in membership."[63] Peter Carter, then administrative director of the EAG, established a fundraising committee, and Terry Fenton sounded optimistic that the provincial government would offset the deficit from the drop in membership, Fenton also expressed the wish that the EAG "receive a grant comparable to that awarded to the Glenbow Museum in Calgary which covers approximately 60 per cent of its $3,000,000 operating costs."[64] On 26 May 1982, when Dr. William Lakey, a prominent surgeon in the city and an art collector, was elected chair of the gallery board, he was stoic about the public's reaction to the gallery's affairs: "There is always criticism, because no two people see the same image or appreciate art in the same manner," but he was looking ahead in a positive manner based on the "explosion of art in Edmonton," which was partly owing to the catalytic role of the EAG: "More people are looking at art — visiting galleries — as a form of entertainment. Art is a cultural experience, but more importantly perhaps, it enhances our perception."[65]

Edmonton's art world had remained superficially calm for most of 1983; for the most part, the "big ticket" expenses were paid by organizations such as the National Museums of Canada to both the Edmonton Art Gallery and the Provincial Museum.[66] But within the ninety-odd art groups and organizations in Edmonton, talk revolved around the city's much anticipated arts policy paper, entitled "Towards an Art Policy." The city had embarked on a mission to create an arts policy back in the early 1970s, but six years later another attempt was scheduled to be presented to council on 6 September 1983. The latest version was the work of a committee under the chairmanship of Jane Peatch, a policy planner. No group seemed happy with it, least of all an umbrella group of the ethno-cultural groups called Edmonton's Committee on Multiculturalism. Its spokesperson, David Bai, criticized the report for having failed "to face the growing demands of the multicultural aspects of the city,"[67] echoing the sentiments of many other art groups, such as the Edmonton Visual Arts Committee, the Chinook Theatre, and the Writers' Guild of Alberta. He continued:

> After six years of countless hours of consultations, meetings with community groups, written submissions, and at least six major background cultural policy papers prepared by consultants and staff of the Parks and Recreation Department, to our amazement and bewilderment this document is still addressing only a first step towards an arts policy.... when will we ever have one if we are only "looking towards it?"... the civic administration has not fulfilled its responsibility for preparing a document reflective of the community's wishes."[68]

Part of the problem in formulating the policy, according to Joe Schoctor, executive director of the Citadel Theatre, was the fact that the job was assigned to the Parks and Recreation Department: "We've got to take culture out of parks and recreation. We've seen the confusion over the years in that department. It should be written by people who write policy."[69] Maggie Morris, the chair of the visual arts committee, thought that a way out of the impasse was to create an organization like the Alberta Art Foundation — with a non-profit basis and an arm's-length policy vis-à-vis city council: "Artists don't want welfare. We don't want hand-outs from the City.... The City isn't stingy, but the arts have outgrown the existing process.... You have large groups that get most of the funding, but there are smaller groups who need help too."[70]

The Parks and Recreation Department subsequently absolved itself from writing an arts policy and suggested the council hire David Silcox, who wrote the arts policy for Metropolitan Toronto.[71] All mayoralty candidates for the 1983 municipal election agreed that the arts policy should reflect the city's ethno-cultural community. One candidate, Laurence Decore, suggested that the first step was the definition of culture, the appointment of a cultural officer, and the establishment of a Living

Heritage Council to establish contact between the city's art groups and create a focal point of the arts. Realizing the tall order of his wish list, Decore stated, "However, industry and the provincial and federal governments on behalf of the groups want to encourage support. That is so important at this time."[72] On 20 December 1983 a report outlining the ground work for an arts policy was sent to the office of newlyelected Mayor Laurence Decore. The report recommended the establishment of a twenty-five-member arts board and another board for multiculturalism, with the expectation that the two boards would interact and allocate funds to the ninety or so groups that request funding each year. As the *Edmonton Journal* reported, "Committee members said the arts policy, which is more advanced than the one for multiculturalism, should continue to be developed instead of being held back for multiculturalism to catch up."[73] Edmonton's arts policy was back to square one, except that the square was more crowded this time around.

In 1984, while the Edmonton Public School Board was proposing a budget freeze in order to counter "the effects of unemployment to taxpayers while preparing the $279 million operating budget,"[74] city council agreed to grant the EAG $302,000 for its operation; it granted $20,000 to the Citadel Theatre (which had asked for $100,000); $64,000 to the Edmonton Opera; $15,000 to Phoenix Theatre; $10,000 to Workshop West; and a number of smaller grants to smaller groups.[75] 1984 was not an easy year for the EAG, said its director, Terry Fenton, but artistically he rated it as the best of his twelve-year tenure with the gallery; he recalled that "the most popular with the school tours was the Inuit art display. Then there was the Dorothy

Knowles show and, of course, "From the Heart," the national touring exhibition of Canadian folk art. The display of photography by Orest Semchishen was also popular. The small Renaissance Bronze exhibition drew a surprising number of people in the gallery. Also creating excitement on the local art scene in 1984 was Rothman's 'American Accents' exhibition."[76]

For 1985 the EAG was looking forward to major exhibitions, a works on paper by American abstract painter Helen Frankenthaler, a retrospective of Alberta's pioneer artist Illingworth Kerr, and exhibitions of Douglas Haynes's work and of Douglas Curran's photographs. While Fenton was contemplating an ultimate desire, an exhibit of the work of Henri Matisse, a desire that could not be fulfilled because the gallery's humidity control system was not built for such exhibits, the rest of Edmonton was abuzz with talk about his imminent departure for the Vancouver Art Gallery. The Arts editor for the *Edmonton Journal* published this note on 5 January 1985: "Always a figure of controversy in Edmonton and Alberta, Fenton generated even more waves last year when he was touted as successor to Luke Rumbout as director of the Vancouver Art Gallery. However, he encountered a hostile reception from well-known artists and critics like Toni Onley and Art Perry who labelled him a purveyor of hobby art and a monoptic modernist. By mid-October Fenton was out of the running, and seemingly content to remain in Edmonton"[77] where he remained with the EAG for another two and a half years.

By 13 February 1985, when the executive committee recommended to the council that it approve $317,000 for the EAG, sparks filled the air once again; Alderpersons Olivia Butti, Ken Kozak, and Julian Kiniski voted against the proposal, although it was approved by a vote of eight to three. Before it was over, Kiniski proclaimed that "his grandchildren are better painters than many of the artists on view at the Edmonton Art Gallery.... The gallery has become an exclusive club whose displays aren't representative of the tastes of Edmontonians.... Some of the things I have seen on their walls ... are not as good as the finger paintings of my grandchildren."[78] Things got worse by April, when the Canada Council gave the gallery $43,000 rather than the $253,000 requested, but the gallery personnel decided to remain calm; said Peter Carter, "When the council advised us that we would receive $43,000, we were ready to panic. But on thinking it over, it may be that the council was so overwhelmed with paperwork generated by the new system of grants applications, they are approving grant for only portions of the year."[79] And the Edmonton arts writer Phylis Matousek commented, "If there is power in positive thinking, Edmonton Art Gallery staff are into some heavy cerebral exercising!"[80] Apparently their cerebral exercise was not effective, because by November of the same year Peter Carter was complaining about the Canada Council's "arbitrary" funding decision, which would force the Gallery into a deficit of $130,000, the first deficit since 1977.[81]

The Canada Council in 1985 initiated some changes to its funding policies; it eliminated the category of "special status"[82] until then given to public museums like the EAG; and instead of awarding a lump sum of money to an institution to dispense as it saw fit, the new policy required that all institutions apply for funding for individual projects. Edythe Goodridge, then chair of the visual arts committee of the Canada Council, commented that the change was necessary because of the increase in the number of institutions applying for funds. Peter Carter complained that had the Council given advance notice to the gallery, they might have planned their exhibition schedule differently. The changes in the Canada Council were not the only ones to be contended with; Alberta Culture had frozen its grants since 1982 and continued to do so, and the National Museum of Canada has kept its grants at the level of 1981. The reaction of museum directors was swift: EAG's Terry Fenton said, "It's a moral issue. I won't sit in judgement on those juries [Canada Council's] to decide what other museums can do for their public". Rober Swain, president of the Canadian Art Museum Director Organization (CAMDO), predicted, "This is no longer the thin edge of the wedge. This is the back end of the axe to the Canadian museum visitor"; and Duncan Cameron, director of Calgary's Glenbow Museum, mused, "We thought that official culture as 'thought control' only happens on dictatorships."[83] A month later, Peter Carter announced that the gallery's deficit had risen to $160,000 and that they would be forced to close down its library services.[84]

If 1985 was the year where all levels of government froze their funding accounts, it was also the year where a "truce" of sorts happened in the relationship between "the artsies and the multicults" in the never-ending saga of a municipal arts funds policy. In April a new group was established, the Edmonton Professional Arts Caucus, headed by EAG's Peter Carter. This group worked closely with the Edmonton Cultural Caucus, headed by Al Iafolla, which represented an association of ethno-cultural organizations; and both groups worked with Alderperson Percy Wickman, who headed the mayor's task force on culture.[85] Commented Carter, "We've been told there's going to be this marriage, so we want to make sure there's an equitable marriage contract to go with it."[86] The only one pleased with this prenuptial agreement was Mayor Decore, who declared that the proposed policy "gives culture organizations a certainty that's never existed before"; prior to that, he continued, the city had "a hodge-podge non-policy" that kept artists and ethnic representatives "on the edge of their seats."[87]

The first week of January 1986, Debbie Witwicki, public relations spokesperson for the EAG, announced the closing of the library, cuts in children's programming, and understaffing of the gallery: "We've pared to the bone because of the freezing over the past four or five years of both provincial funding and the federal museum's grants.... [and now] the Canada Council's grants are given on an exhibition by exhibition basis rather than by the year."[88] Said Fenton: "We're understaffed. Salaries aren't up to analogous professional salaries elsewhere and we've got a $140,000 shortfall this year."[89] (One wonders if the latest shortfall is in addition to the $160,000 previously reported by Carter.) Minister of Culture LeMessurier rallied to the gallery's support, saying that she had already spoken to Marcel Masse and Peter Roberts and that she was to "speak to our Premier and our Treasurer about establishing a task force to look into the overall funding of the gallery."[90] The choruses of critics and supporters rose to the occasion once again. Hazel Hett, previous owner of the Hett Gallery and by 1986 a private art dealer/consultant, said, "There are wonderful pieces in the EAG collection.... In contemporary abstract art, [EAG] has some of the best pieces you could find anywhere. Fenton collected a magnificent Poons, some great Olitskis, he's got some very, very good pieces."[91] An anonymous local artist commented that "Alberta artists don't get a fair share" at the EAG, while another said that the gallery "sees art one way, its mind is set in the fifties." Hett's rebuttal was, "Let the critics say what they will. Even five years ago, when I travelled to New York, people there in the art world, while they didn't know where Vancouver was, knew exactly where Edmonton was, because of this gallery's collection."[92]

In April 1986 the gallery acquired a new president, William Weir, who upon assuming his position announced his confidence in the director, Terry Fenton, and revealed that the gallery had a deficit of $74,403. He said that the board was aware of the negative comments about Fenton's curatorial direction, but it had never received any complaints directly. Said Alyson Edwards, the outgoing president, "I don't think you defend taste," and Fenton acknowledged that in the art community he is either loved or hated, but said "simple labels — such as 'pro-New York' or 'pro-local' do not accurately describe the issues involved."[93] By fall, during Edmonton Art Gallery Week, Fenton sounded in charge again, announcing a series of free events organized by the gallery to raise its profile in the community, and reminising, "Twenty years ago, Edmonton did not have much serious art buying. Not many Edmontonians had decent works of art on their own walls or the walls of their businesses. Even the government didn't have any .... Today things are incredibly different. We've helped that to happen."[94]

In 1987 even the city's operating grant to EAG was reduced; efforts by Weir and Alderperson Lance White to change council's decision failed. Because of the latest setback, the gallery would have to reduce its hours of operation; which according to Terry Fenton, "would mean reduced attendance and reduced ability to serve the public, especially with school tours .... We've got one of the most vital art communities in the world here today, and it's in danger of being destroyed."[95] Fenton did not stay to see its destruction; he resigned on 5 June 1987.

With Fenton's departure the guessing games began: who might be the next director? Could it be Helen Collinson of the Ring House Gallery at the U of A, or Jeff Spalding of the University of Lethbridge? Rumour had it that the position was worth only $40,000 per annum, so who would want to inherit the bad press, meagre funding, and diminished staff? Vivienne Sosnowski, _Edmonton Journal's_ arts writer, echoing the rumours and whispers heard at gallery openings, wrote in August that;

> As committees wrestle over the appointment of the next director of the Edmonton Art Gallery, it's now we should speak up about just what we want to happen in the ominously quiet brick building on the corner of Churchill Square. Do we want it to continue as a blast from the past: a sullen storage depot, a library-like resource for students of Canadian historical art and/or venue for society chin-wags? Or do we now fight for something more vigorous and essential? Is it time for the revolution? ... Will the present Board of Governors have the chutzpah to play a catalytic role in the unravelling of the

> events of the next few months? If the past is anything to go by, probably not. Too often, boards in this province are not much more than fund-raisers. Though unfortunately, their philosophies, essentially pro-establishment and deadly moribund, influence much more than the search for cash. Perhaps now's a good time, too, to decide whether our art institutions should preserve this status quo?"[96]

During October 1987, the task force setup by Mary LeMessurier a year before released its findings, which were received as a political document whose "real job was to placate a highly vocal and almost indestructible band of critics who harangued the gallery far too often."[97] The report failed to address the cause of much of the criticism: what should the role of the gallery be in the community? It set no directions for the gallery or its future director; it spoke only of cash shortages at a time of diminishing funding in all sectors, public and private. By mid-December, the Edmonton Art Gallery had a new director, Roger Boulet, who was already part of its curatorial staff, and the board, following one of the recommendations of the task force's report, cut its membership from thirty-six to twelve: "Today's vast 36-member board consists primarily of Edmonton's middle-class, middle-aged Establishment folks: medical wives, corporate lawyers, chartered accountants. When questioned, their taste often run to genres well-established before the 1970's."[98]

Roger Boulet began his tenure in 1989 having to rely on bingos: "We can make $50,000 from bingos. That's serious money for us .... We've had to abandon plans to bring a major show of photography here in 1989 from the States.... We couldn't commit the cash, so the show went elsewhere."[99] And the library remained closed, the educational programs reduced, the building in desperate need of an upgraded climate control system. The cash flow was so low that they began close "monitoring of the snack sales at the vending machines in the gallery's basement,"[100] said Boulet.

During the late summer and fall of 1988, the focus shifted once again towards arts funding for the next year, and the city's elected officials once again seemed no clearer as to the role of the arts in the city or the council's commitment to the city's art organization. At the August Council meeting they approved $44 million for a downtown revitalization scheme but debated at length the approval of a $100 grant to *The Edmonton Bullet*.[101] As soon as it became known that the City of Calgary granted $1.3 million to its performing and visual arts groups as opposed to Edmonton's $406,000, the Edmonton Professional Arts Council, the council's own cultural advisory board, and prominent art community members such as the Citadel's Joe Schoctor all pleaded with city council to reconsider its funding policy. The discrepancy in funding brought to the surface the rivalry between the two cities: "What's the difference between Calgary and yogurt? Yogurt has culture. It's an old joke that is told and retold here in the City of Champions. But now it seems the joke is on Edmonton."[102] Not so, claimed Joe Shoctor, "Edmontonians are cultured and Calgarians are cowboys .... In Calgary you've got that midwest syndrome of boots and hats and backyard barbecues."[103] Committee chairman Alderperson Julian Kiniski wished for the arts groups to "stop griping.... it gets to the point where it's not only tiresome, it gets downright annoying," and he quipped that if they stopped bothering him he would pledge $500 of his salary to the arts.[104]

In 1989 the provincial government decided to use lottery money to eliminate the mounting deficit of Alberta's arts groups. The Getty government made available $4.7 million to forty-three groups, with the majority going to the province's performing arts groups, the "Big-8:" the Citadel Theatre, Edmonton Symphony Orchestra, Alberta Ballet Company, Edmonton Opera, Theatre Calgary, Alberta Theatre Projects, and Calgary Opera. The Edmonton Art Gallery, although in dire financial straits, was left out of the windfall. Dr. Bob Westbury, president of the Citadel Theatre, praised the government — "I'm prepared to praise any government that has done the things that Don Getty has done"[105] — and the *Journal's* Alan Kellogg quipped, "However tainted, money's welcome.... Transparent and cynically motivated though this week's provincial government pre-election largesse to major arts organizations may have been, reasonable observers may only shrug, wink — and grab the cash."[106] The money to the arts followed an announcement committing $75 million to rural road improvement (it was an election year). Shortly after, Jack O'Neill, then deputy minister of culture, announced that the onus of sustaining provincial and federal support to the arts is on municipal governments, saying, "It's easier for the local community to have a better feel for what's going on and what's needed and to initiate things in the arts;"[107] statements that again generated comparisons between civic arts funding in Edmonton versus Calgary (with Calgary always spending much more).[108] Alderperson Helen Paull revived her suggestion for a policy change that would have required each civic department to commit one per cent of its annual budget for the purchase of local art. Her motion was passed by the public affairs committee and was sent to the council for approval, which it received (providing $300,000 for art purchases).[109] Then arose the issue of the definition "art"; Mayor Reimer was of the opinion that art should be construed broadly enough to allow "door carvings"[110] to be thought of as art, Alderperson Bruce Campbell wanted the new civic building itself to be defined as art (this way the $400,000 paid to the architect could count for the one percent expenditure towards the arts — but the new civic building's had cost: $38 million), Linda Wedman, producer of The Works, the summer visual art festival, reminded Campbell that a building cannot be defined as a work of art similar to a painting or sculpture and said that she would like to see "a committee struck to recommend what art should go in and around the new city hall, and that committee should include the informed viewpoints of the arts community as well as politicians and city officials.... If you need legal work you go to a lawyer."[111] The committee was struck, the tenders went out, and as of this writing (December 1991), among the shortlisted painters from Edmonton's art world are Douglas Haynes, Robert Scott, Terrence Keller, Sylvain Voyer, and Norman Yates.

In Edmonton, painting schools and styles from Paul Kane to Douglas Haynes, and marketing ideas/mechanisms from the traditional art dealers to the EAG's "Art for All" and Borden Park's Art Park, have been imported and transplanted at one time or another from those who were situated in the mainstream, or the margins, of a system of the arts that originated in the Renaissance. Their adaptation has varied according to the specific socio-historical circumstances at any given period and the temperament, stamina, and commitment of some players to an idea, school, or way of taking care of business — the business of art as either consciousness or commodity. The next chapter examines the players that made a difference for the Edmonton art world of painting.

CHAPTER 6

EDMONTON'S ART WORLD — THE ACTORS

a. Painters

> In terms of analysis, the exhibition system marks a crucial intersection of discourses, practices, and sites which define the institutions of art within a definite social formation. Moreover, it is exactly here, within this inter-textual, inter-discursive network, that the work of art is produced as text. Rather schematically, it can be said that at one level an exhibition is a discursive practice involving the selection, organization, and evaluation of artistic texts according to a particular genre (the one-person show, the group show, the theme exhibition, the historical survey and the Annual, Biennial, etc.), displayed in certain types of institutions (museums, galleries), within specific structures (contractual agreements, fees, insurance), and preserved by definite material techniques in a number of ways (catalogues, art books, magazines). At another level, an exhibition is a system of meanings — a discourse — which, taken as a complex unit or enunciative field, can be said to constitute a group of statements; the individual works comprising fragments of imaged discourse or utterances which are anchored by the exhibition's titles, sub headings, and commentary, but at the same time unsettled, exceeded, or dispersed in the process of their articulation as events.[1]

Painters are the necessary but not the sufficient players for an exhibition system to become established and operative; the system cannot function without its gatekeepers and managers — art dealers, curators, critics, and publicists - those who will make the decisions that will transform the objects (paintings) leaving an artist's studio into the works of art that will be hung on the walls of the galleries, the museum, the private collections. Artistic value and success are the creation of the art world; specifically, aesthetic value is the creation of its exhibition system, and it is its marketplace's role to subsequently translate this aesthetic value into prices. So, even though the system needs painters to produce the paintings that will set the system in motion, individual painters are interchangeable. This dispensability of painters has made most artists wary of talking about their art in general, and particularly with sociologists, who at ask them objective questions (read: irrelevant), and at worst hostile questions (read: must be working for the government). It is not that painters are incapable of talking about their art, or if capable, never discuss it on principle; they talk about it regularly to other artists, to their dealers, to art critics, to potential buyers, and when they apply for grants and commissions. Their reticence is selective and based in the dispensability/ interchangeability of the producers of objects in contemporary art worlds.

The painters I will be focusing on are those found at the intersection of discourses/practices/sites of Edmonton's art world of the 1980s. This art world is populated by many more painters, professionals and amateurs/hobbyists alike. How many? It is very difficult to say; definitions and/or boundaries are so loose that even an approximation of the number of painters residing in Edmonton at any given time is problematic. For example, CARFAC, the artists' union, follows the United Nations definition of a professional artist:

> An artist may be considered professional not only if he[2] earns his living through his art, but also by anyone of such criteria as the following: a) if he possesses a diploma in painting, sculpture or graphics, or in other areas considered, by the cultural criteria of his country, to be within the domain of the fine arts; b) if he teaches art in a school of art or applied art; c) if his work is often seen by the public or is exhibited frequently or regularly in group shows or individual exhibitions, in his own country or abroad; and d) if he is

> recognized as an artist by the consensus of opinion among other professional artists in his country, even if he possesses none of the preceding qualifications."[3]

One can easily see how this all-inclusive definition might be attractive to government bodies and/or unions (more dues are collected), but the reality of the art world itself is much different and not as inclusive: peers do not reputations make, and not all exhibition sites count in the creation of artistic value and success.

In 1983 the Alberta Art Foundation commissioned the Management Advisory Institute of Edmonton to study the visual arts as industry. The objective of the study was to "measure the contribution of the visual arts to the provincial economy, through production, consumption, and employment and capital investment and the income ripple effect or multiplier effect."[4] The study concluded that there were 530 professional visual artists and 6,575 amateurs or hobbyists. These number are extremely unreliable for many reasons. For example, the study does not define who is an amateur and who is a professional; (b) the author of the study spoke primarily to a dozen or so bureaucrats and administrators from the Visual Arts Branch of Alberta Culture and the Alberta Art Foundation (on which board the author of the study, Dr. William Preshing was an active member) and to only thirty-three artists drawn from across the province and primarily from the ranks of craftspeople (only one of those interviewed had played any role in Edmonton exhibition system). From the above sources Preshing, drew a sample for specific interviews — "The sample interviewed was chosen to give a reasonable picture of Alberta's visual arts, rather than being statistically representative of the population."[5] According to the same study, there were 200 professional painters across Alberta operating at a personal deficit, although their activities, along with those of the 330 remaining, generated eleven and a half million dollars on the basis of the net economic indicators effect on the provincial economy.[6] No other studies have been undertaken to describe/account for the visual arts community in Alberta. How then does one find out how many painters live and work in Edmonton? If for the purposes of this thesis we definite a "professional" painter as one who lives in Edmonton and creates work for the purpose of showing it, having it juried, selected and acquired within Edmonton's exhibition system, then there are sources that one may locate these painters. But because these sources are kept voluntarily by either the artists themselves or various government/bureaucracies, numerical accuracy and quality of information must be abandoned.[7] Therefore, I decided to use information derived from data sources that carry/report the objective indicators of aesthetic success as established by the art world itself, that is to see who exhibits in the sites that count — publicly funded galleries and museums, and the private galleries whose openings are regularly reviewed in the local media and specialty art journals and/or magazines, art books, and so on. I went to these sources for the decade under scrutiny — the 1980s — and looked for further indicators of rank and success: one-person shows or group shows, a survey catalogue or an individual catalogue, work shown at the Edmonton Art Gallery and carried simultaneously at a local commercial gallery, work bought by public collection or private or both, number of shows over the decade, and so forth. Utilizing the objective indicators of the art world, I very generously estimate the number of "professional" painters active in the system to be around two dozen. The names most often discussed in the 1980s, within different sources were:

- *Artists of Alberta* (1980), edited by Suzanne Devonshire Baker and published by the University of Alberta Press as a seventy-fifth anniversary celebration project. The jury selecting the art of established and up-and-coming artists consisted of four artists, two from Edmonton (Harry Savage and Norman Yates) and two from Calgary (Stan Perrott and Ron Moppett). Nine painters from Edmonton were chosen: Rick Chenier, Anne Clark, Douglas Haynes, Bryan Nemish, Violet Owen, Graham Peacock, Harry Savage, Robert Sinclair, and Norman Yates.

- *The Visual Arts in Edmonton: An International Focus* (1981), a review article written by Bente Roed Cochran for Artswest. Edmonton artists discussed (and whose work was shown) were Anne Clark, Rick Chenier, Phil Darrah, Douglas Haynes, Terrence Keller, Graham Peacock, and Robert Sinclair.

- *Department of Art and Design, University of Alberta, Staff Exhibition*, at the Edmonton Art Gallery, 14 September - October 1985. Painters shown were Ksenia Aronetz, Dave Cantine, Rick Chenier, Phil Darrah, John Freeman, Mary Grayson, Douglas Haynes, Jonathan Knowlton, Phil Mann, Bryan Nemish, Graham Peacock, Robert Sinclair, Suzanne Spiegel-Bell, David Verchomin, and Norman Yates.

- *Abstract Painting in Edmonton* a group exhibition at the Edmonton Art Gallery, 30 August - 26 October, 1986. Painters included Giuseppe Albi, Philip Darrah, Bruce Dunbar, Gerald Faulder, Douglas Haynes, Terrence Keller, John King, Phillip Mann, Seka Owen, Graham Peacock, Robert Scott, Mitch Smith, and Dale Travis.

- *Aspects of Contemporary Painting in Alberta*, a group exhibit at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary, 11 July to 30 August, 1987. Edmonton painters shown were Guiseppe Albi, Eva Diener, Douglas Haynes, Terrence Keller, Robert Scott, Suzanne Spiegel-Bell, and David Verchomin.

As can easily be seen, the number of painters recognized is rather small, and of those who show regularly an even smaller number receive one-person shows and have a catalogue published. But most of these have achieved aesthetic acclaim in that work and draw consistently large crowds to their openings, even if their work is not sold out every time it is shown. Actually, the sale of even two or three paintings will guarantee the artist another show in a year or two. The objective indicators of success can be further researched through the biographical notes of each artist. Biographical notes can be found in long format or abbreviated in all catalogues and gallery information systems. They follow a standard format, and include such information as name, studio address and telephone, education, scholarships, grants, awards, commissions, collection sites, professional membership, and those with a long - standing association with a gallery include the name of the galleries that carry their work. Some, under the heading "Bibliography," include information from printed discussion of their work — however scant the discussion might be; most of them believe that any review — even a negative one — is better than silence. Some artists also keep meticulous scrapbooks with opening invitations and copies of any mention of them or their work in the trade magazines. For a field that does not have professional standards, the art world — artists and viewers alike — has been captivated by the C.V.: many times at openings I observed viewers spending more time reading bios and reviews than looking at the paintings themselves. It is, then, easy to get standard information on most painters from the readily available C.V.s: almost all have graduated from an art college or university, the younger generation is Canadian born and trained; almost all have their work in the collection of the Alberta Art Foundation; quite a few have their work in the permanent collection of the Edmonton Art Gallery, the Canada Council Art Bank, and other public collections outside Edmonton; and all have their work shown on a regular basis (every two to three years) and collected by private individuals and corporations. But it is difficult to get any information from individual artists about the difficulties they might have encountered because of their style, gender, temperament, or other factors. Even if they talk to other members of the art world, they speak in stereotypical abstracted terminology, as if their art and their selves are isolated from the social environment of its production. As Hans Haacke noted, "All players [of the art world] though, usually see to it that the serene facade of the art temple is preserved."[8] Terry Fenton, then director of the EAG says of talking about art: "Talk for art's sake is often simply talk for talk's sake. The fact of the matter is that it's hard to talk about art in a meaningful way. Some people would rather taik about art than experience it. They would rather hear the paraphrase than listen to the poem." And John Arends, owner of the Lefebvre Gallery (now closed) says, "The art will do the speaking. It's the quality that counts. Some people have the gift of gab, but others can string such a meaningless line of garbage it confuses more than it helps. It's quality work I want to see."[9] Below are some example of painters talking about their work — there is definite temperamental variation, albeit far removed from the business of making art. All excerpts are from the exhibit catalogue of the staff exhibition at the EAG in 1985:[10]

> *Graham Peacock*: I have always painted and built things. I always knew what I wanted to do and fortunately was encouraged to pursue Art. My art school studies included painting and sculpturing from the model in the classical tradition together with modernist approaches to form as an expressive vehicle. I began my first abstract work in 1961. I work abstractly because I find it exciting to work with what I know. The experience of my past and present paintings, intuition and logic, guide me in the hypothesis of the next painting. The pursuit of originality, quality and the expressive strength in art comes by the invention, choice and creative use of form. All work despite its expressive, social or psychological value must, I feel, be resolved visually if it is to constitute art. This resolution is obtained by the unification of form itself. This is of the essence of artistic activity yet does not in any way prescribe what the art is to be or how the resolution of form can be obtained. Rather it shows us by continued experiencing, what is indeed whole, unified and what is not. Personal taste will vary, style and social value may differ but the visual relationship **longs**, the unity or lack of it, are good guides to a work's quality, despite one's personal likes or dislikes. Given the opportunity to experience, taste changes. Looked at historically, invention and originality can be seen to go against existing tendencies, and by comparison we can give support to our judgements. Originality often requires substantial re-evaluation but if quality, unity and expressive strength have been maintained, time will show its true value.

> *Phil Darrah*: My painting begins with the ground. I usually work on the floor, or on a slightly raised platform. The studio floor and painting platforms have a form of indoor/outdoor carpeting on to which the canvas is stapled. I like the hard

surface that this provides. The canvas is stretched tight and flooded or brushed or scraped with colour. Usually a strong mid-value hue. Depending on how the ground is applied, and how I sense it will dry, I sometimes add a second colour. This applied in a patchy uneven way. It may be done wet in wet, or wet in dry. The second colour is often only slightly different from the first, and is usually cooler so that the first hue seems to push through. Often the grounds are laid down several times and washed out and redone until they strike me as suitable. Then, depending on the character of the ground and my changing preoccupations with particular content, or layout, the picture takes shape. By "content," I mean bars, smears, shapes of colour that are in varying degrees discernable from the ground. "Layout" may be a variety of ways of placing the content. It is important for me to vary the paint density and opacity. Sometimes I like to work with diffused marks and shapes, and sometimes the elements that make up the relationships are more discrete. The colour is the main thing. If the colour adds up to a clear feeling, then the drawing seems to take care of itself. I have to be careful not to fill up the spaces in the picture, for the play between open and full is as important as light/dark, vibrant/muted, or other contrasts. It is the quality and character of contrasts which sets the range of the painting. When the painting is dry and I feel confident that it is finished, I transfer it to a wall, and tape the edges. It is at this point that one fully sees the picture. Occasionally the painting needs more work, or it may stand on its own.

John Freeman: The nature of the evolution of two dimensional art in the Twentieth Century, at least in much North American painting, was "reductivist" until about the end of the 1960s. Part of the difficulty that results from this history of reduction dealing to a convergence of form and content and the exclusion of subject matter, is poverty of meaning. My own rejection of two dimensional static art in favour of video throughout the 1970s was a reaction to this poverty. I had hoped that the added dimensions of time, sound and motion would enable me to amplify the meaning that could be conveyed by increasingly non-representational images. I found, however, that my focus on the graphic capabilities of the kinetic medium of video was becoming increasingly hermetic and as reductivist as the tendency that I had hoped to avoid in painting. My return to painting and drawing in the late 1970s was still in keeping with a desire to re-introduce overt subject matter into my own art. My initial re-entry into this field was an attempt to use abstract symbolism and geometric patterning as a way of alluding to, rather than stating directly, matters of subject. The introduction of the flower as an image in 1982 was a necessary step for me. The flower satisfies my desire for a complexity of pattern and detail in a formal sense. The flower as image also allows for the re-development of a representational image that alludes to male and female sometimes in androgynous combination.

Jonathan Knowlton: It is better for the artist not to say a great deal about his work - such theoretic and egocentric ramblings serve to initiate only the most

> impressionable. Furthermore, so long as the artist is not engaged in counterfeiting his own ideas -such as they may be, his ideas will expand if the work is destined to grow, and what was conceptually pertinent or useful to him today will be less so tomorrow.
>
> *Robert Sinclair*: The good picture: window with a journey through.

Women painters tend not to talk at length about their work, or at least long quotes/statements from them seem not to be printed: Seka Owen — "Painting is the essence of things I have seen, experienced and felt";[11] Adeline Rockett — "I look for a good design between snow and land as I drive along the roads. The contrast is really beautiful between the whiteness of the snow when the sun hits the crust, the wind, the water and the dried-up weeds of last year. I really like playing with the light and the snow and the luminosity you get as a result of it";[12] Irene Klar — "I didn't set out to be commercially successful. I set out to paint. I still do. When I started painting I made a conscious effort to keep my prices as low as I could.... You develop a voice that tells you what's good painting and what's not.... It shouldn't matter what someone else says. You can't paint for public approval";[13] and Jane Ash Poitras — "Before we were always pushed down as Bambi art, or called too religious, and all the curators' pet hates were focused on Indian art. But that sort of thing is in the past."[14]

Commercially successful artists speak about their work in more emotionally descriptive ways for example, Len Gibbs, whose shows are not only selling out regularly but at times have patrons literally queuing the pavement outside the gallery early in the morning in order to buy the works, and whose prices range from $1,500 to $15,900. A show of his once sold out within seven minutes of the gallery's opening.[15] Gibbs says of his work, "I'm usually terribly disappointed with [it]. I feel an intense emotion about something, sit down and try to paint it. And when I look at it, I think I've failed. I can never seem to recapture that first emotion."[16] As for another of Edmonton's most popular painters, the city's own Gustave Courbet, Robert McInnis is more than happy to talk about his art, and much more:[17]

> The serious painter gives his life like the pig for a meal. There is no other choice in life. Your whole world is dedicated around your art. This is why I don't really have time for movies or entertainment or sports, or even my little trains upstairs.
>
> Everything has to have utility, and that's a fault on my part, but it's a fault that is making my work what it is .... It's the seriousness that's going to make me the painter that I know I must be, rather than just somebody who happens to have some sales in an art gallery and gets a little success; that's not important to me at all.
>
> I am a fretful, anxiety-ridden person over whatever it is in me that makes me try and fight this battle of painting. It is not an easy battle. I meet artists all the time who flippantly make it sound as if it's easy — "Oh yeah, I'm an artist." If they only knew what they were saying. They don't put in the work. I know many with degrees, masters of fine arts, and bachelors of fine arts, who flippantly deal with art as if it were a casual product that they were producing in their studios to take out to an art gallery and sell, rather than a way of life that you have to wrestle with; and I can tell you these people will go nowhere, and they don't know it.
>
> I had to go to 35 or more galleries, when I first arrived on the art scene — as I thought it was in those days — and I was 30 years old, and I had to get rejection from every one of the galleries. Nobody was interested in my kind of painting. Those were the days of high realism and abstract. There was no room for the in-between. They didn't want any more Group of Sevens. They had enough of them.
>
> My work doesn't look radical because it has been done before, that type, but I know what goes into it — myself .... I would be bored painting just a scene for its own sake. There's something in my temperament that requires [that] I alter it,

to make it more of a vision of my inner temperament, rather than a picture of the subject itself; it's an expression of me in my country, in my love of the country, my love of its history, my love of its visual aspects, particularly in winter.

In Ottawa, I had all these political friends. I was being invited to their parties and to their houses and I was meeting the likes of [Michael] Wilson and [Robert] Kaplan and [Robert] Gauthier, all those people there, and with Francoise speaking French and me speaking English, we could communicate with all sides and we made a good team working together, and I was developing in Francoise this sense of, "Get out there and talk. Let them know you exist." And it was all working.

A lot of artists say, "No, no, no, I can't do that, it isn't me." Well, I say, "It wasn't me either, but I had to do it if I expected to survive." I hated it, I hated it. I got to a point in Ottawa where I said, "I'm not doing this any more." That's when I decided to move West.

I paint with a bold brush, the way the Group of Seven did .... When you look at Canada, you think of starkness and largeness and boldness; these elements are what I'm putting into my paintings.

I have no patience when it comes to reworking anything. It's the excitement of the first time, that passion of the moment, that is of interest to me, and I paint quickly because of my understanding of my temperament... A lot of painters never discover their temperament. The masters did; that's why they were masters.

If a painting isn't to that standard that I have discovered is necessary to be in it, I destroy it immediately. I just pour turpentine on it, right on the canvas, and I wipe it away immediately. I don't even wait a day. I used to say, "Well, I'll see what this looks like in two years." Well, it never looked any good in two years either.

I know from what I read about others, the Van Goghs, the Emily Carrs, the Jean Paul Lemieux, whoever I may happen to be reading. Matisse, particularly, that I am dead on course as a serious painter who is making a contribution. I have maybe 35 or 40 more years to go at this and if in the last 30 I've achieved just maybe a glimpse of what it is to know about art, in another 30 years I will have discovered an awful lot. I do hope that there will be this nice break in my career where something else comes into my work; and I'm feeling glimpses of that all the time. ... It's something to do with spontaneity, something to do with a raw direct courage where it gets down on that canvas in such purity that I know it when it's there. ... And if it's a complete painting, I put that painting

> aside. I have two now for a 30-year career that I would say are like that, and both are in my bedroom.
>
> What I am doing isn't art yet. ... True art is the willingness to pour out, absolutely true, who you are, what you are, why you are, and how you see it. I haven't that courage yet. But the older I get, the more I understand the difference.[18]

Robert McInnis's verbosity is supported by generous sales figures — he averages $60,000 in sales annually and is probably one of the few painters who supports himself totally on sales of his works. Of course, this is a figure provided by the artist. However, some objective indicators of an artist's financial success are the following: Does the artist have a parallel occupation to painting? And is the artist's work appearing regularly for sale at auctions? My answer of no to the first question and yes to the second [lend credence to an] artist's claims to financial dependence solely on art sales; and both of the above answers apply to Robert McInnis.

The above quotations are but a small sample of how Edmonton's painters talk about their work; there are artists such as Douglas Haynes or Henrik Bress who are producing work that is both artistically and financially successful but who, owing to temperament or choice, avoid making any statements. But no matter how hard one looks, one cannot find statements about the routine and/or business aspects of their lives. Their public belief in the self-sufficiency of the art work might force one to abandon any thought of painters having mundane needs to pay rent, eat, or in general negotiate an everyday existence away from the Elysian fields of art. Who is then taking care of business in the art world? The answer is Alberta Culture, through its many "how-to" publications, "The Other Side of Commissions: The Artist and the Client Must Both Understand What They Are Getting Into", "Galleries and Artists," "The Artist as a Salesman: When Dealing with Commissions and Competitions the Artist Must Be the Consummate Professional," "The Confusing and Complicated Visual Arts Marketplace," "Market Alternatives: Art Rental, Marketing Techniques: Playing the promotion game."[19] The problem with these publications is that they do not differentiate between art forms and art styles/genres within a form, and so they are really more relevant to crafts artists than to those who compete in the contentious arena of aesthetic legitimation: the government bureaucrats and their consultants assume that the social environment of the marketplace is impervious to aesthetics (as opposed to painters who act as if art is impervious to the social environment). With such differences in their focus, how ever does the business of art get done? As sociologist Raymonde Moulin suggested, "We must pay attention not just to what they [artists, dealers, etc.] say but to what they do."[20] Following Moulin's advice, what I found is that most painters talk a lot about the business of art, "unofficially" at opening night parties and other social gatherings, without ever coming to terms — at least explicitly — with the social aspects of producing, selecting, advertising, and eventually selling paintings. And when most painters talk business, they complain. They complain about dealers — for the high fees they charge, for not always providing printed invitations with a colour photograph of their work; for when they hold openings — time and day — and for what they offer, wine or coffee and cookies. They complain about the speed with which dealers pay them, or notifying them on sales of their work, or the frequency of the shows they are given. They complain about fellow artists who are doing well financially, calling them "decorators" or accusing them of selling out to the system. They complain about how much they pay for rent, materials, and so on, and they turn each other in to Revenue Canada with accusations of under-reporting their sales. They complain about art critics, even those invited and paid for by themselves, like Clement Greenberg, as well as the others who "piggy-back" on other projects, such as Karen Wilkin, Kenworth Moffett, and John Bentley Mays. Most have nothing much to say about the local reviewers, who are numerous (and for the most part short lived), with the possible exception of Lelde Muehlenbachs and Elizabeth Beauchamp. There are jokes about Greenberg, slurs against gallery owners, derogatory remarks/epithets about formalist art styles, and unending gossip as to who is bedding whom. And everybody complains about the Edmonton Art Gallery, for what they do and what they do not do. Some examples: In 1982 Ms. Margaret Chapelle, speaking for the Alberta Society of artists told the city economic affairs committee that Terry Fenton "runs the gallery like a private club for friends and modernist painters he prefers. ... We local artists are not welcome." She then went on to ask the city to "attach some strings" to the city's funding of the gallery. Mr. Fenton's reply: "The Alberta Society of Artists is an organization that has outlived its usefulness for the younger, the professional and the ambitious artists."[21] _The Edmonton Bullet_ in 1986 took a closer look at the "cold war, hot tempers" — the credibility of the EAG and some of the opinions on the debate; the following is from an introduction by reporter Bob Weber:

> You must have seen some of the letters. They've been appearing one after another on the opinion pages of Edmonton's newspapers. We've also heard strongly-worded interviews aired on the radio. Yes, that old cold war in Edmonton's visual arts community has flared up but again. The sides are familiar. On one stand The Edmonton Art Gallery's curator of contemporary art, Terry Fenton, and a tightly knit group of painters and sculptors working in the so-called Formalist tradition. On the other, an eclectic group of artists from various disciplines that have been called the Edmonton Dissidents."[22]

Here are the views of the artists that Weber interviewed on the same subject:

> Lyndal Osborne: Formalism is a very, very narrow range of today's art world. I went to galleries day and night in New York — I never saw any formalist art.... the EAG's finger is not on the pulse.
>
> Jorge Frascara: There's no doubt that the EAG has bias; the formalist shows are promoted harder.
>
> Seka Owen: It's not true that the gallery only shows abstracts ... always there is representational work. Only a minority of artists keep a bad feeling against Terry Fenton. He thinks as a man who has a broad mind. He likes everything that is good art.
>
> Liz Wylie (an art writer and freelance curator): The prevailing ideology at The Edmonton Art Gallery is mainly sympathetic to ... abstract, late modernist sculpture and painting.
>
> Seka Owen: The curator of a museum is like the conductor of a symphony orchestra. No one questions the full control orchestral conductors have over their programs.
>
> Bob Iveson: No one wants to sit through a bad performance of good music, but nobody has to sit still for night after night of the same composer, either.
>
> Jorge Frascara: The head of a public institution should be a term appointment. If four years is enough for a Prime Minister, five should be enough for the curator of an art gallery.
>
> *Bob Iveson*: The really good curators often move around after five years anyway.

Painters in Edmonton, like most painters elsewhere, might not be as aware of the contradictions present in contemporary art worlds as a social scientist might be: "Artists respond to the objective rules of the game in many different ways. As different as their strategies are, they must take account of the individualistic ideology of art, which is as much a part of their objective situation as the economic system itself. The artist is torn between two conflicting sets of demands which can be summed up as follows: a man (or a woman) has its own rationale to justify the authenticity of the work."[23] Edmonton's painters manage to negotiate the conflicting demands by becoming hyphenated artists, that is, painter-professor, painter-preparatory, painter-gallery personnel, painter- a number of combinations. By having a second steady job, or by being married to someone who holds a steady job, or sometimes both, they manage to keep the "purity" of their art uncontaminated by the economic constraints of the market.[24] But they need the market; they need it to circulate their work and they need it to make enough money to support their art-making needs if not the needs of everyday living. Philosopher David Carrier traces a lot of the problems/contraditions that contemporary painters face to, primarily, the pre-industrial state of painting production:

> Art making is an old-fashioned kind of manufacturing, one which the world of mass production, of the subdivision of labour in the factory, has hardly touched.... The making of paintings has in this way remained traditional in what makes it both attractive and in many ways a problematic activity.... The problem with a system of handmade production is that it is terribly inefficient.... Because paintings are made in this pre-industrial fashion, producing them is expensive. For artists to pay for supplies, and the costs of a small factory space (their lofts), each painting must cost more than most people interested in art can afford to pay.[25]

But instead of seeing themselves as commodity producers, most Edmonton painters see themselves as alienated artists, the romantic version of the nineteenth century. And in order to negotiate a system that is not of their making they paint small works on paper (easier to sell), or small watercolour landscapes (more popular with buyers), although "artistically" they want to be known as abstract painters; they open their studios for viewing; they "gallery hop" in search of a better marketing relationship; they join coteries of artists and collectors to better inform themselves of who is buying what and within which price range. But they steadfastedly refuse to accept that the most decisive factor in the creation of artistic success and subsequent financial independence is not the quality of their art, but the opinion of the art dealers, curators, and critics who make the decisions that sustain the system.

b. Directors/Curators

> Designer jeans are sold by advertising, because people are persuaded that tight, expensive trousers are better than cheaper, more comfortable ones. But art-world people too are persuaded, perhaps by more subtle means. We read art criticism. Imagining a world in which tastes in clothing or painting are not determined by some kind of advertising is difficult. Were there such a world, then we could find what kinds of clothing and art people genuinely prefer; we could find what is genuine in human nature, before we are corrupted by advertising. I suggest that such a view of human nature is very implausible. For tastes are always a cultural product, and so imagining a taste uncorrupted by society is impossible.[26]

The late 1960s and 1970s were boom years for the art world of painting in Edmonton — the Edmonton Art Gallery moved to its permanent location and began hiring specialized personnel to manage the thriving gallery, the university expanded its Fine Arts Department, an increasing number of commercial galleries opened, and there were plentiful funds for "special" projects to commemorate Canada's centennial. The majority of funds, attention, and activity focused on the Edmonton Art Gallery, an institution that seized the moment to acquire centre stage in the visual arts world of Edmonton. On 5 September, 1965 Virgil Hammock, then arts writer for the _Edmonton Journal_, wrote, "Because of our gallery's daring, Edmonton is becoming known throughout Canada as a centre for avant-garde exhibitions. This is something the city should be proud of."[27] Canada maybe, but Clement Greenberg was less enthusiastic when he was commissioned by _Canadian Art_ to visit the prairies two years earlier and give an account of the state and status of painting and sculpture there:

> Art in Edmonton has the benefit of a municipally supported art centre whose collection is not to be sniffed at, and whose director, John Macgillvray, is active as well as informed. And Edmonton also has an artists' cooperative, the Focus Gallery. But the art being produced here seemed to me to lack the _élan_ of art in Saskatchewan; nor did I get as vivid a sense of a coherent artists' community. Maybe this was because Edmonton is in such a rapid state of expansion."[28]

Changes were destined to speed up in Edmonton with the hiring of Karen Wilkin, the gallery's chief curator from 1971 to 1978. She was a graduate in art history from the states, Barnard College and Columbia University, and was at first hired to teach art history at the University of Alberta before she moved to the EAG. There she began organizing major exhibits of abstract painting,[29] writing the accompanying texts to the catalogues, and in the process establishing herself as a curator/critic/art historian; she now lives in New York but occasionally finds her way back to curate an abstract exhibit.

But the person who was to leave an indelible mark in Edmonton's art world was Terry Fenton, its sixth artistic director and curator of many exhibits from 1972 to 1987. Fenton's unwavering commitment to formalist art, his stubbornness in "staying his course," and his "convictions" helped him develop a thick skin towards his detractors (who increased in numbers along his tenure the EAG). James Adams, arts writer for the *Edmonton Journal* wrote of Fenton in 1981,

> No one can accuse Terry Fenton of looking like an effete intellectual esthete, a nattering nabob of angry avant-gardism. The hair around his ears and neck is short and neat; his face clean shaven. He wears a jacket and tie instead of a cape and scarf. He doesn't chain smoke Gitanes. He doesn't seem to burn, burn, burn with a demented intensity. When he paints, he paints landscapes. Toss the word "esthetic" into conversation and he'll state his preference for its more prosaic equivalent, "style." Yet this pleasant, ordinary-looking man, this former social worker for Saskatchewan has been dogged by controversy."[30]

Although one is left wondering where he might have formed his opinion of scarfed and caped nattering Nabob intellectuals, Adam's physical description of Fenton and the controversy he generated is apt.

Terry Fenton was born in Regina, Saskatchewan, in 1941. Since he was a young boy he was torn between his love of painting and of creative writing. He studied both at the Regina College and the University of Saskatchewan. After graduation his first job was at a radio station in Edmonton. He later took a position as a social worker with the Alberta government where he stayed until 1965, when he was hired by Ronald Bloore to be his assistant at the Norman MacKenzie Gallery in Regina. Bloore was himself a painter and one of the pupils of Jock Macdonald from the Calgary Provincial Institute of Technology and Art. Fenton was later promoted to director of the gallery and stayed there until he moved to Edmonton in 1972. While in Regina, Fenton attended the Emma Lake workshop, led by Barnett Newman, and in a subsequent workshop he met Clement Greenberg. Fenton describes that meeting:

> It was a very important time in Regina, because a group of painters known as the Regina Five were very heavily involved with the Art School in Regina, and in 1959, several of them went to an artists' workshop at Emma Lake, which was led by Barnett Newman. [This] was a big break–through workshop. I met Greenberg subsequently when I first went to Regina. We established a correspondence and after that we became friends; and I've learned an enormous amount from him, more than from anyone else. He's the person that sets the example. He set the example for me, or reinforced it, that you go into studios. If you're involved in art, you're involved with artists, and you're in studios, looking, you're responding, and you make decisions based on what you see, and your ultimate, your first and final responsibility is to tell the artist what you like best.[31]

Terry Fenton, following Greenberg's aesthetic calling and habits, set out to develop close ties with the local art community when he joined the EAG, a community already disposed towards abstraction. Through his subsequent friendship with Greenberg, he established a direct link with the art world of New York that would later be extended to London, thanks to his friendship with Anthony Caro, England's best-known contemporary sculptor. Under his direction and with the support of his board and a booming economy, he established the Edmonton Art Gallery as a cultural institution at the forefront of the North American modernist art scene.

Further, not thinking about financial risks — The Edmonton Art Gallery is a public gallery run by a volunteer board — Fenton decided to take artistic ones, by introducing painters and sculptors from New York, London, and eastern Canada, almost all working within variations of abstract expressionism. For this he was hailed by the faculty and the art students of the university for exposing them to what was produced, aesthetically acclaimed, and bought in the major art centres; but he was also severely criticized in the local newspapers and by artists working in representational styles. A visitor to the EAG was quoted as "being embarrassed by the scraped-up spills, spills not scraped up and scrap heaps on display there"[32] and according to a local art dealer, "Edmonton artists are maybe more difficult to deal with than others. I believe that they have been told so many times that they are the greatest thing next to sliced bread by Clement Greenberg and Terry Fenton, that they believe it themselves."[33] This dealer did, nevertheless, steadfastly profess a commitment to contemporary art — good art, as he liked to emphasize — produced locally and elsewhere:

> I'm one of the few gallery directors I know of anywhere that actually goes into artists' studios on a regular basis. That's in town, Toronto, Montreal, New York — everywhere I go I'm in artists' studios. So that brings about a kind of dialogue, we're constantly aware of things, and making decisions on the basis of that kind of constant contact. We're mostly dealing with the kind of hands-on people, with the painters and with the critics, with the people who are really in the studios.[34]

Without Fenton's appointment as director to a public gallery, his close ties to the artistic community, and his commitment to abstract art, the art world of Edmonton would most likely have developed differently. Terry Fenton played an active role in this community. Talking about local painters, he says:

> They're personal friends of mine. And, in fact, most of our talk is very practical stuff: change your habits, and do it this way instead of that way. I've never seen artists saying this is what it means or this is what it represents; I've never seen an artist explaining what they do. Whenever I hear an artist talking theory, I try to walk away. When you talk to Olitski, half the time you're talking about literature or you're gossiping about mutual friends, or you're talking about current events, or you may say, "Did you see such-and-such a show?" And he'll say, "Yes, I liked it," or "I didn't like it, I thought the pictures were too big." It doesn't get much beyond that kind of very simple stuff.[35]

Terry Fenton is a captivating story-teller, and he can recount interesting stories about his visits to Toronto, New York and London. But trying to get a definition of good art is difficult. Basically, he felt that art is something that one can buy and put on the walls of one's house or office; if you can't buy it, then it's not art — and he was suspicious about art that does not come as object — environmental, performance, video, and conceptual art:

> I suspect that kind of art. That kind of art is produced but I am suspicious of it, for some non-aesthetic reasons, too. I'm suspicious of it because usually behind it there is a big question of who is ultimately paying for this; and it usually means that it is taxpayers' money, one way or another, and it bothers me when taxpayers' money is used solely to support art that never was, doesn't really leave the possibility of establishing itself independently.[36]

This is a fascinating remark for Fenton to make after a decade of being the director of the EAG, an institution so heavily and grudgingly subsidized by taxpayers' money from all three levels of government. It is fascinating because it is so telling of the effect that late modernist aesthetic thinking has had on art world participants, even those who are intimately and ultimately involved with financial decisions: socio-economic factors never enter into the realm of aesthetic sensibilities and their manifestation in art, "good art." In a book that Fenton co-authored with Karen Wilkin, entitled Modern Painting in Canada: Major Movements in Twentieth Century Canadian Art which was based on a catalogue and an EAG exhibition of the same name and was made possible with the "generous support of the Canada Council, the Museum Assistance Programmes of the National Museums of Canada Corporation, the Commonwealth Games Foundation and Canadian Pacific" — no taxpayers' money in this one! one can find the most descriptive discussion of "good," that is, modernist, art:

> Modernist painting's rejection of "literature" favours a form of expression more closely aligned with the conditions of its own medium. This medium, it maintains, has its own story to tell and its own language to tell it in. But this "pure" painting has always been accompanied by parodies of itself. And these parodies invariably revert to a kind of "literature": they call up explanations and interpretations and dissertations on what modern art "means." They have tended to be avant-gardish movements like Dadaism, Surrealism, and, nowadays, varieties of conceptual art.... They're all obsessed with "meaning." They all subscribe to the notion that "form" in art is a kind of "delivery system" for "content." In their opinion, this content must be recognizable apart from, or in relation to, the medium itself. They don't believe that expressiveness (i.e., content) can or should be embodied in, and subsumed by, the medium. The problem which arises when this implicit "formal" content conflicts with explicit information doesn't concern them. When they're taken for granted, all too often they speak against inspiration. The danger in adopting forms and conventions to tell a specific story lies in their tendency to tell a different, and often contradictory, story of their own.[37]

So, how does one avoid the "delivery system" and go directly to the "implicit formal meaning"? By avoiding trying to understand art and simply appreciating it. When

Fenton appreciated art, he carried with him some advice from Jules Olitski and Kenneth Nolan: Olitski once told him that "all art is keeping a surface alive" and Nolan said that "all artists have to know are their materials, making art is just a matter of knowing your materials" (materials for Nolan are colour, pigment, canvas, the tools that you paint with).[38] How can he tell which paintings, from among the many he looks at are the best?

> Oh, it's immediate, it's immediate. You don't make decisions based on study in that sense, or based on the application of theories. See, criticism — and this is where the lesson I learned from Greenberg, and this is where many, many, many people disagree with me — is a matter of practice; it's not a matter of theory. All the training in the world, and all the reading in the world, is not going to help you very much when you're standing in front of works of art. In fact, sometimes it gets in your way; more often than not, I suppose, it gets in your way. Even all the books on art history and so forth can get in your way. They can get in your way about the art of the past, too. I think that the way you really train yourself is by looking at art, looking at old masters, looking at new art, and looking at it all as if you're looking at it afresh. And obviously that experience builds up in you. You get more capable, the more you see and the more you bear down; and the more you are open-minded about things and learn to correct your mistakes and so forth, the more you are capable of judging — appreciating and judging, which is the same thing — works of art.[39]

Terry Fenton and his curators — Karen Wilkin, Russell Bingham, and Christopher Varley, among others — kept visiting studios and galleries and with their critical talents chose the best art (their words) that was produced in Edmonton. But more importantly, they provided aesthetic legitimation of styles, critical discussion of theories or lack thereof, and have left behind most of the historical documentation for a most important period of Edmonton's art world of painting. Because the EAG is a well-funded public gallery it has sustained the ability and resources to print catalogues, monographs as well as a magazine, all of which give local artists the added legitimation of being supported in print. This is especially valuable for local artists who are bypassed by national art publications. When one visits the commercial galleries, one finds clippings from these publications used as evidence of having been "written up," of credibility. And when one talks to artists or dealers regarding the success of a gallery opening, Fenton's name invariably crops up, as reinforcement and validation of the artistic merit of the artist/show. There has always been a continuous, if not always explicit, exchange between Terry Fenton and the local legitimators — even after his departure — regardless of what the latter think of Fenton's relationship with the artists. In this small network of people, Fenton's credibility is constantly renewed and upheld through his close ties and communication with international legitimators — within fading modernism — such as Greenberg, Moffett, Caro, and others.

> Fenton was a prolific writer/curator. As he has stated, "Much that gets said about art reveals more about the speaker than the art," and he continues:
> Most art talk, now as always, is enormously irrelevant: it fills the air, it consumes paper, it kills time. Sometimes, it's entertaining, but at its worst it misconstrues and misleads. Nevertheless, it can't be avoided: It's a large part of fad and fashion; it's the substance of period taste.... Period taste tends to incline towards the mediocre and to find fault with the best."[40]

Coming to terms with the "crisis in taste," he wrote:

> The only solutions are individual solutions, *your* solutions. Taste is the capacity for appreciation. It can be exercised and improved. There's no single best way, but some of the following suggestions might help.

> 1. Try to empty your mind and just see. Don't expect a certain kind of experience. Don't expect art to look like or unlike other art. Don't expect the new. Don't expect the old. Don't expect.
> 2. Make comparisons. Comparisons aren't odious. Compare similar works. Compare dissimilar works. Above all and after all compare quality.
> 3. Pick the best picture in every room you enter. To clarify things in your own mind, pretend you have unlimited cash and must buy one picture in the room to take home and live with.
> 4. Always pick the picture you like best at the moment. Never pick what you think you will like or should like.
> 5. Make notes. Keep a journal. Rank pictures (that's not odious, either). Develop a scale: 1-5, 1-10, 1-100, whatever you find convenient. (Remember, being at the same level doesn't mean that works of art are exactly the same. It means they're equally good in their different ways, nothing more.)
> 6. Go back again. Compare subsequent experiences with your earlier ones. If you've been mistaken admit it. Remember, mistakes in appreciation often stem from missing the experience, from failing to see the work of art as it really is. So be prepared to change your mind if you gradually or suddenly come to like art that you didn't like at first.
> 7. Try to describe what you like or don't like. The description may force you to see more clearly.
> 8. Compare notes with other people, especially with people who help you appreciate works of art.
>
> I'm not suggesting that you should abandon the study of art and its history. Rather, I've tried to suggest practical methods of developing the capacity to appreciate art that should be used alongside a general study of art. Use them as you see fit. But remember that taste — your taste — matters. Taste judges. And because taste judges, it protects and preserves and helps to maintain civilized life. So it matters to all of us as much as it matters to you.[41]

For someone who believes solutions of taste are individual solutions, and further, that art writing merely "consumes paper and kills time," Fenton went on to kill lots of time and fill lots of space, in the _Update_ on a regular basis and in the many catalogues produced by the EAG. The question that an outsider is left with is, If art is appreciated intuitively, then why the hermetic/alien critical writing of the curators? If the function of art writing is to help the uninitiated to better understand the obvious (my own intuitive solution), then why do so in the most fuzzy and pretentious language?[42] Terry Fenton's writing most of the time allows his readers to almost believe they have achieved fluency in this alien language of art, which cannot be said for the writing of Russell Bingham or Karen Wilkin:

> *Russell Bingham on James Walsh's paintings*: Walsh's paintings appeal to the eye in an especially tactile way. They're very textural, and seem to be as much about describing the viscous, physical quality of paint as they are about drawing and colour. But drawing and colour are a big part of his art too, and he combines these elements in a manner very much tied to his unique artistic personality. Walsh paints with a rough kind of directness. He piles on the paint and moves it around, combining different densities and drawing with and into the paint in a very free manner. Keeping the values close is a smart way to unify an abstract picture, and Walsh will sometimes do theirs, but more often he uses — and gets away with — quite dramatic dark/light contrasts.[43]
>
> *Russell Bingham on Graham Peacock's paintings*: Like all the best painters of his generation, Peacock was reaching for an abstract kind of purity, a type of painting that spoke in its own language, as its own teams. This is what had led him into Noland-style colour-field painting. The "Striation" pictures were essentially about colour, and Peacock wanted to make colour count for more by minimising "touch." Minimizing the physical evidence of the paint application would prevent it from interfering with the visual effect of pure, non-referential colour.... To exploit this, Peacock had to make something of an about-face and assume, temporarily anyway, a more "manipulative" role in relation to the way he handled his materials. It meant laying more stress on touch than had been evident in the "Striation" pictures."[44]
>
> *Karen Wilkin on the work of William Perebudoff*: It is always difficult for an ambitious artist, finding his own voice, to respond to what is being done by outstanding contemporaries and at the same time avoid being derivative. It is even more difficult when the artist lives in a region quite outside the major centres where outstanding work is being seen and made. In fact, provincialism in art can be defined as the imitation of mainstream modes, remote from the mainstream.... [Perebudoff's paintings] have never degenerated into stylishness, nor have they seemed provincial or self-consciously novel. They have evolved

> from arrangements of brilliant, clearly defined geometric shapes, to evanescent sheets and bars of pulsating colour, to looming walls of inflected, even more subtle hues. They are characterized by what can only be described as a meticulous concern for design — manifest in austere layouts — and an unabashed by romantic quest for the Beautiful — in the form of ravishing colour and surfaces.[45]

> *Karen Wilkin on criticism and abstract painting*: It is not easy to make critical distinctions. There are no rules, no guidelines and no proofs. Only experience and effort will allow us to sort out our aesthetic responses. It is far easier to follow fashion, instead of looking for ourselves, but if we look for ourselves, we may be challenged and excited in unexpected ways. Joseph Drapell, Harold Feist, Douglas Haynes and Leopold Plotek are not fashionable painters. They are thoughtful, serious practitioners of an idiom that the trendy will declare is moribund, but their work clearly demonstrates that far from being exhausted, abstraction is fertile ground. The four are linked by a common belief in the expressive possibilities of the raw materials of art, the eloquence of gesture, the potency of the medium.[46]

But who are these curators/critics writing for? The historical record? The hapless viewer? Or their C.V.s? They are writing for each other — the other critics, curators, dealers — and for their C.V.s. Funding for publication of catalogues is provided based on the published record of the writer. Contrary to Karen Wilkin's statement "there are no rules, no guidelines and no proofs," the art world is rule-bound, and the proof is in the consensus at any given time in the art world. In the modernist art world a painter is judged by his/her genius and mastery of technique/materials, but critical success depends on the critics: a painting is valuable only when it is thought of as good by enough of the dominant critics/legitimators in the art world. And further, the guidelines of proper modernist criticism have been set out by Clement Greenberg: "Visual art should confine itself to what is given in visual experience and make no reference to any other orders of experience," and "the question now asked

... is no longer what constitutes art or the art of painting, but what irreducibly constitutes *good art* as such."[47] Some, like Terry Fenton and Karen Wilkin, follow the guidelines better than others, like Russell Bingham, who seems to be writing for himself and maybe the artist he is writing about. Rules, guidelines, and polemics abound in modernist criticism, as is the case with the first two curators/critics. The rules are: art that is not strictly modernist is fad; criticism that is contextual is avant-gardish; change in aesthetic grounded direction is degenerate self-conscious novelty. And to think that modernist discourse was once considered revolutionary and liberating — what might have happened along the way? During the 1960s, when most art-producing centres followed the social changes that were taking place in the wider society, members of art worlds began in earnest to question the philosophical ideas about art, good art, and criticism that were centred on notions of genius as well as the practices of valuation and legitimation within the art world. When the "faddish/suspect" new forms of art began to take hold, such as conceptual art, performance, video, feminist art, and so on, Greenberg rose to the occasion with a revamped Kantianism; Mary Kelly describes the changes:

> The only necessary condition for *judging* good art is common sense; but for *producing* good art, genius is required.... No definite rule can be given for the producer of genius, hence originality is its first property. At this point the modernist discourse emerges as the site of an insistent contraction which is indicated in Greenberg's criticism and repeated in the opposing strategies of the institutions of education on the one hand and those of entertainment and art patronage on the other. The former exacts a formal field of knowledge about art, an empirical domain of teachable crafts, while the latter requires a transcendental field of aesthetic experience and reflection founded on the unteachable tenets of genius and originality."[48]

The 1960s were not only Greenberg's last chance to revive Kant; they were the time where fine arts departments were being established all over North America when art history and criticism became academic disciplines, when one could get BFAs, MFAs and Ph.Ds in fine arts, when specialized art magazines and academic journals became the sites for the exchange of ideas and legitimation of styles, and painters alike. The 1960s were the time when funding for the arts increasingly became the responsibility of the state when the art world joined the "consciousness industry," where "controlled ambiguity" in the form of "garbled, distorted" messages was propounded by curators, historians, critics, teachers, and others as "impartial scholarship." The latter practice "provides museums with an alibi for ignoring the ideological implications of the way those works are presented to the public. Whether such neutralizing is performed with deliberation or merely out of habit or lack of resources is irrelevant: practiced over many years it constitutes a powerful form of indoctrination."[49] That this practice has become a powerful tool of indoctrination is demonstrated in the changes that took place (or did not) at the Edmonton Art Gallery after the departure of Terry Fenton in 1987 and the hiring of Roger Boulet as the new director and Elizabeth Kidd as the new chief curator — persons not of the "modernist" camp and who described themselves as "generalists."

When Terry Fenton finally decided to resign in 1987 he said, "I'm leaving something I really love behind. This is a great gallery, and I'm proud of my association with it.... There has been tremendous change; it has been a strange environment."[50] "It has been a wonderful 15 years; I've taken the good with the bad and the good has been terrific.[51]

Fenton's successor was Roger Boulet, who was brought up from the curatorial staff to become the gallery's new director for a five-year term. Upon accepting the job he stated, "There's going to be continuity here and there's going to be change, but I would like the gallery to have more people coming to it. Without the public we might as well put everything in a nitrogen vault, label it and seal it up." Nothing was put in a nitrogen vault, but neither the cold war nor the hot tempers subsided. And although Fenton was gone, the adversity continued. Roger Boulet replied as follows to comments made by Barry Kebler (an occasional writer for *The Edmonton Bullet* on visual arts) on funding, exhibition costs, and the new curatorial practices at the EAG:

> When the funding base for The Edmonton Art Gallery's Exhibition Program collapsed, we had to re-allocate other resources to it, thereby depriving other areas of our programme. We have maintained as best we can an *interpretive* or educational function largely through the dedication of our valiant volunteers. We have reduced our curatorial staff. People call for diversity in our programme, to reflect *pluralism*, a wider point of view, yet has anyone stopped to think that diversity in programming might be directly proportional to the number of curators organizing exhibitions?
>
> Having stated this, I will now address Mr. Kleber's statement that the Gallery has recognized only a "select handful of artists" and has become a "a bastion for what is commonly called formalist art" over the past 15 years, referring no doubt to the term of office of my predecessor Terry Fenton. Our records indicate that during that time, about 527 exhibitions have been held at The Edmonton Art Gallery. Of these, 92 can be said to have an exclusively (or even mostly) *formalist* bent, leaving 435 reflecting a broad spectrum of art, both historical and contemporary.

> Mr. Kleber further states that apart from the good formalist art being created in Edmonton, "there is other good art of value being created here." No doubt there is. But where is it? He laments the "ever recumbent Latitude 53." ... Yet he does not ask why there are so many artist-run or alternate spaces in Calgary, compared to the one-and-only in Edmonton. Could it be that there are not enough alternate artists here to support such activity? Or could it be that there is no public art museum in Calgary? Why are the two cities so different? Is one more vibrant than the other? Is it more vibrant in artistic matters, on all fronts?
>
> I am glad that Latitude 53 exists, and I very much hope that its move to the downtown area will provide the public with greater access to significant contemporary works of art. I do not think that giving "artists a larger, more substantial voice" is the single most important objective here. The voice can be very loud, yet if no one is there to hear it, how loud is it really? Who can tell? Who will care? I wish Latitude 53 every success ... we are in this together!"[52]

A feminist exhibition, "Dangerous Goods," brought the ire of the formalists to such a feverish pitch that, apparently, the majority of those artists who define themselves as "formalists" signed and took to the board of the gallery a petition lamenting the aesthetic depths to which it had been allowed to sink; no one will confirm or deny this on the record, but almost all talk about it, and the only disagreement that surfaces concerns to the number of those who did not sign the petition — some say only two, a painter and a sculptor, others say a few more. Lelde Muehlenbach's review of the exhibit for the *Bullet* captures Boulet's view of the old regime:

> Let me start off by saying, at the risk of sounding cocky, that by being Latvian I've always felt a certain amount of revolution in my genes (and jeans). We were the first country in Europe to give the vote to women in 1919 and hopefully we won't be the last to get it back for everyone. Both the current Baltic political aspirations and the complexity of the local art scene affect the way I was able to site myself within the recent exhibition of feminist visual art practices at The EAG. Recent political upheavals in eastern Europe have speeded up, rewritten, if not trivialized art history. Eventually, the shackles of all ideologies are bared.

> Art ideologies have tried to engulf Edmonton in orgasmic waves. Now it's feminist theory. For all its merits, one of the unfortunate subtexts of Dangerous Goods is to engage a battle of wits with the evolution of modernism — and its kid brother formalism — in Edmonton. This is counterproductive, sophomoric, retardatory. Dare I say it, bitchy? Either railing against or championing formalism is as outdated as the Ism itself. Can't we go on? The ABC's of what we have supposedly been denied over the last art era are spelled out conveniently in the catalogue, whose design oddly resembles a letter bomb. It's clever enough. In it, we go shopping with a character named Emma on a trip of enlightenment to West Edmonton Mall's new boutique specializing in feminist practice. Alas poor Emma, who has the most loaded name in all literature. Might this just be a reference to Flaubert's Emma Bovary as scrutinized in The Perpetual Orgy by Mario Vargas Llosa? The more she loved, the more she shopped. Lucky for our chick, she's curious and she gets the goods handed to her. Repent and be freed of patriarchy. If you're into depth, the text is bolstered by extensive footnotes (in purple ink). At $16, the catalogue is a deal, not only on par with some of the art in the show but also a remarkable barometer revealing cultural weather change.
>
> One of the questions the show touches on is whether or not art itself can be the ultimate mediator as to its meaning. If I can't or don't want to look at the stuff, its meaning sure vaporizes quickly. But is that my fault or the artist's? Seeking an aesthetic high in an art museum has been recently reduced to commodification. (I'm waiting to see what twisted form the same argument will take in the realm of music). The reasons for art museums conceptually devaluing art objects in favour of social and political issues comes down to a disrespect for that segment of humanity that has to navigate existence through visual phenomena. _Has to_.[53]

And a review of Roger Boulet's directorial practices by Graham Peacock,[54] senior abstract painter and a professor of painting at the Art and Design Department of the University of Alberta, appeared in the Edmonton Art Gallery's official publication the _Outlook_, in its "Last Word" section, which is reserved for the members' opinions about the opinions and programming of the gallery:

> Dear Roger:
>
> I was very disappointed to read your remarks in the last two issues of _Outlook_ - Vol. 1, No. 3, "Our Commitment to Art" and Vol. 1, No. 2, "The Gallery

Collects: A Brief History." You appear to denigrate the hard work of the artistic community and The EAG over the past two decades, rather than to celebrate and acknowledge the achievements that have been made.

To assert that formalism only flourishes in Edmonton because of The Edmonton Art Gallery and Clement Greenberg is reasonable, but at the same time, foolish. Much as we may have appreciated the contributions of some critics and The EAG, this is not, however, the reason we make the art we do. We are part of a long tradition and share in a fundamental belief in the centuries-old values of art of which formalism is a part.

Just as you dismissed the acquisitions made in the 1970s and 1980s in your article "The Gallery Collects: A Brief History" to which Karen Wilkin has so aptly replied, you now dismiss the achievements made by the artists, both figurative and abstract, who subscribe to common principles of form.

The fact that "international trends" have not been a major part of the Edmonton art scene is not necessarily due to Edmonton's "isolation" (we do travel), but rather, may well suggest the artistic maturity of this community. Have you considered that the short life of these mostly revivalist trends is a true indication of their worth?

It remains to be seen if The EAG's pluralistic approach will encourage major art in Edmonton. Being more inclusive of the greater Edmonton artistic community is a good idea as long as "kinship" does not replace "quality" as a criterion for judging and showing art.

I suggest it is your remarks, not formalism, that need to be put in a "proper perspective!"

Yours truly,
Graham Peacock.

On 5 December, 1991 Roger Boulet resigned from the position of executive director of the Edmonton Art Gallery. Board chair Peggy Marko remarked, "We'll miss Roger's enthusiastic championing of the visual arts. He expanded the scope of the gallery's collections and worked hard to make the gallery an inviting place for visual art patrons."[55] Rumour has it that Boulet had difficulties with the board regarding his collecting direction and exhibition programming. The directors of the curatorial, administrative, and communication departments will jointly take over his duties until a new director is found. Their choices will be interesting and politically revealing of the gallery's future artistic direction. At the time of his departure the following exhibitions were running: "Spirit of Ukraine" — 500 Years of Painting Selections from the State Museum of Ukrainian Art, Kiev; "Alberta Society of Artists": Sixty Years"; " Klein Vergleich"; "The Book of Job: Engravings by William Blake"; and "Drawings by Don Jarvis for A Child's Christmas in Wales." Despite the crises and the contradictions, life goes on in "Fentonia."[56] But we must backtrack a little.

When Roger Boulet became the Edmonton Art Gallery's seventh director in December 1987, he had already spent some time prior to that as its chief curator of art. Boulet, whose expertise is in prints, had been lured away from a gallery in Burnaby, B.C., by Terry Fenton, a friend and someone he looked forward to working with even though "he and I vehemently disagree in a number of areas — about art — but we're still friends."[57] When the then president of the gallery's board, Al Bryan, made the announcement, he said of Boulet's hiring:

> This is a turning point in this gallery's history ... [although] we are not intending to make any major changes in our collection or exhibition policy. We're satisfied with the direction in which the gallery is going and that our new director will stimulate greater public awareness."[58]

Boulet believed that additional funding would stimulate public interest in the gallery, but at the time of his ascension lack of funds were "a major problem. We're running on really strained resources ... we should double our curating staff ... it's up to us to hustle culture."[59] Four years later, in the fall of 1991, Boulet, reminiscing about his taking over from Terry Fenton, said: "Terry didn't like administration so he delegated while keeping the curatorial area to himself. He delegated to the administrator, who had no background in art.... It was nuts.... With the method of decision-making pre-1987, there were nineteen committees and a reporting system that had an intricate hierarchy that took a minimum of three months to get a report."[60] So he set out to simplify the organizational structure from the physical layout to the creation of a mission statement and a plausible course for the gallery in the 1990s. And, as if the task he faced was not gruelling enough, Roger Boulet had to address what he called the "bad press file" he had inherited,

> "a rather thick file from the past three to five years. When I read all the articles it seemed that the program was stagnant and meaningful to only a few people.... Given that reality and the fact that Terry brought me here to broaden the program, I took it as a mandate to change how we were perceived and began to broaden the program format. I hired Elizabeth Kidd and a curatorial department for her to work with."[61]

Elizabeth Kidd was also no newcomer to the Edmonton Art Gallery: she had worked there as an extension curator ten years ago. She was brought to the EAG from the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies in Banff. She has studied art history, Near Eastern art and archeology, which earned her an M.A. from McGill University, and states that her most important knowledge has come from "working and learning within the gallery system, rather than theoretically." She described her job in a nutshell as, "I am not the person dealing with public promotion, publicity and marketing, and I am not the person responsible for the physical plant and accounting — so, it is all the rest of the stuff the gallery does."[62] Specifically, she

> is the person responsible for the coordination and production of the exhibitions in the gallery in conjunction with the other curators ... [and] is responsible for the interpretation of the exhibitions to the public which includes the organizing of lectures and other kinds of public programming and, as well, the whole education programme.... The other main area of working is the collection and the collection's management ... is responsible for all publications that go with exhibits."[63]

When asked about her aesthetic preferences, she hesitates and either calls herself a "generalist"[64] or says that "she likes art that hits her sensually/visually"[65]; she gives as an example the work of Betty Goodwin, which she showcased in September 1990 at the gallery for the first time. She is also interested in "anything that deals with social issues, that deals with it well, rather than just spewing out high school kinds of slogans or that deals with issues of humanity and talking about universal concerns; for these reasons [I have] an interest in native art and in feminist art."[66]

The years 1988 and 1989 were financially very lean years for the EAG; as well, the team of Boulet/Kid were left to supervise a lot of curatorial decisions made well before their taking their new positions.[67] The library was closed down, many programs were cut back or terminated, even the _Update_ was reduced to a glossy flyer with minimal information on programming and direction. During 1989 the _Update_ was revamped and reintroduced as the _Outlook_, Increasingly, what Roger Boulet had done became "noticeable to the general public."[68] Boulet, along with board members and their staff, "hammered out a comprehensive mission statement for the gallery":

> The Edmonton Art Gallery exists to encourage awareness, understanding, appreciation, and development of the visual arts. In order to achieve this mission The Edmonton Art Gallery will:
>
> 1. exhibit, collect, preserve, research, document, and interpret the finest available visual art.
> 2. maintain and expand the interest and support of its public.
> 3. demonstrate a sense of responsibility to its public by utilizing its resources in an effective and efficient manner.
> 4. be a leader in the cultural field through innovation and a commitment to excellence.
> 5. operate under accepted international professional standards.[69]

Part of what Boulet and Kidd and the rest of the curators brought to Edmonton, was new, exciting, and controversial. Besides Betty Goodwin, they showed the work of Evergon, the work of Calgary painters, and the most controversial exhibit, that of feminist art under the title "Dangerous Goods." The mission statement above twice makes reference to the gallery's public but whom did they have in mind? The public at large or the artists of the old regime? The majority of the "senior" painters and sculptors were furious with the new direction: most stopped attending openings and complained that an exhibition of "Ukrainian eggs" would probably be next. The art world of Edmonton was divided once again — now those who had formerly avoided the gallery were back in, with the formalist camp staying away. Roger Boulet began making his aesthetic position known indirectly through the new programming and directly through a column he established in the _Outlook_ — "From the Director" — in which he wrote in vol. 1, no. 3:

> The eighties, in general terms, saw a revival of painting worldwide, increasingly dominated by the presence of figurative painting and the emergence of new forms of visual expression. For the most part, these international trends were largely ignored by most Edmonton artists, and the gallery continued to champion the practitioners of formalism.
>
> Because of Edmonton's isolation, its links with formalism were nurtured and re-enforced by the continuous visits of sympathetic critics, especially Clement Greenberg, and by Edmonton artists to New York City. With the emergence of significant artists in Edmonton interested in other forms of visual art, a more pluralistic approach has emerged, within which formalism takes its rightful place and can be seen in proper perspective. Many people still hold the perception that The Edmonton Art Gallery champions formalism. However, still others feel that, by broadening its scope of exhibitions, the gallery has abandoned its important role of helping to focus and develop visual taste.
>
> The reality is that The Edmonton Art Gallery remains dedicated to the collection and exhibition of the very best and most significant visual art in our region and beyond, regardless of any particular aesthetic. At the same time, the priority of the gallery is the examination and encouragement of visual art practices in Edmonton.
>
> Our commitment to art and artists of the past and the present has been the foundation of our 66-year history. We continue to build our reputation as a major art institution on that principle. We have no intentions of changing that.[70]

While building the gallery's reputation as a major and new art institution, the Boulet/Kidd team sponsored a series of public lectures and symposia to coincide with art exhibits, in order to combine the visual with the intellectual, as Kidd has stated. Most notable of the new gatherings/exhibits were "Dangerous Goods: Feminist Visual Art Practices," which was curated by Bridget Elliott (Department of Fine Art and Design) and Janice Williamson (Department of English) of the University of Alberta, the same women who were responsible for an international conference entitled "Imag(in)ing Women: Representations of Women in Culture," in April 1990, another symposium entitled "Creative Connections — Catalysts for Growth" in October 1990, and "Where To? Post-Colonial Manoeuvres: (National) Identity, Place and Practice," co-sponsored by the University of Alberta and Latitude 53 in November of 1991.

The exhibit that brought the formalist artists from their hiding places was "Dangerous Goods," on which Elizabeth Kidd wrote in _Outlook_:

> The exhibition title, "Dangerous Goods" alludes to a number of issues within feminist art politics and practice. It refers to the social construction of women and art as commodities (decorative objects or goods that can be manipulated and marketed), and to forbidden or subversive (dangerous) desires. It also aptly describes those feminist artists who, in struggling for social change, critique the status quo through their work. Their task of creating change is not only made difficult because of the continued stereotyping of women in advertising, film and popular romance, but also because, as a result of the stereotyping, feminists are viewed by the greater public as "marginal" and "deviant," not to be completely trusted or taken seriously."[71]

In an interview with the _Bullet_ Roger Boulet commented that traditionally the arts — music, theatre, and visual arts — "are labelled as elitist because they only attract a small percentage of the population at any given time.... At any given time the artists are making art, and we become interested in some of the things they do. We have to choose. We (at the gallery) are the intermediary. Like the symphony lets us hear Beethoven speak, the gallery lets the artist communicate with the public."[72] The exhibit was well received by "the critical community at the University and Grant MacEwan College," said Kidd, but there "was a very strong reaction from the formalist community who was quite angry with the show.... They were not dealing with the art but dealing instead with the whole idea of feminism."[73] One is left with the question, How could Boulet and Kidd fail to see that the "public" of the EAG, the "small portion" of the population interested in the visual arts, are for the most part weaned on formalist art and aesthetic principles? Where the art that counts comes in the form of "commodities" that can be bought and displayed on one's walls? Where Clement Greenberg reigned supreme for the last years and has been expounding his views on art:

> The only kind of art I'm in favour of is good art. All other things being equal I prefer figurative art. But the fact is the very best art of the past 30 or 40 years has been abstract art.... I only make one demand of art — that it be good. How it gets to be good I don't care. The mission of art is to be good according to its own rights. It has no other mission."[74]

On 21 November 1989, on another one of his visits to Edmonton art studios, Greenberg was invited to meet and discuss a contemporary framework of art. Excerpts of that discussion were published in consecutive issues of *Outlook* in 1990, and some of the exchanges below are indicative of the resistance (otherwise why offer Clement Greenberg a forum for his theories amidst their efforts for change?) that Boulet, Kidd, and company have been experiencing in the post-Fenton era. Others participating in the discussion were Roger Boulet, Elizabeth Kidd, Mark Joslin, and Russell Bingham, associate curators and Lelde Muelenbachs, art critic:

On getting a "good eye":

EK: Am I hearing that you can "train your eye" by looking and looking?
CG: That"s the only way.

EK: Is it possible that there are certain people that are some way or other predisposed to never being able to "see"?
CG: I don't believe that. I don't know enough to believe it. I don't want to believe it. I want to believe that all human beings are able to.
RRB: Is it a process of deciding to discriminate? Some people just never decide to pick and choose or compare, whereas some people always compare.
CG: Maybe they can be encouraged to discriminate. Maybe. To explain, I'll describe my experience with a group of people at the Salzburg Seminar in Austria - people who directed art centres, and things like that. Salzburg has a good small museum. I suggested that one day we all go there, and about 15 of us did. I said we're going to come in the first room, and you pick the picture you think is the best. I said don't worry about what I think is the best. You're forced to make a choice. You're compelled to buy a picture in this room. Choose it - or a piece of sculpture. They eventually got excited by this idea. They had to choose. You would force people to choose.
EK: Do you think it is the process of choosing which is important or the final selection?
CG: No, just the process. You have to look. You look with heightened attention. You've got to choose. You can't say no, I don't want to. And people enjoy that by the way.
RRB: You're talking about the responsibility of the individual. What about us as museum people, curators and critics. Should we do the same thing or should we be more broad-minded and more open to presenting everything?
CG: I can't lay down the law. Nobody can here. Were I the director of the Whitney, I'd show everything that was up, but only acquire what I liked. I would acquaint my public with all the Soho junk as long as it was conspicuous enough. But not acquire.
EK: Because you're saying through acquiring, you're making that discriminating selection, you're making that final choice.
CG: You're saying to your public "this is what we think is good."

On good criticism:

RRB: Do you think that art critics in our century have a more important role than they did in the past? When you think that they're more of a recent phenomenon, the last 150 years or so ...
CG: Not all that recent. Diderot in the eighteenth century started regular art reviewing. I think art criticism has declined.
RRB: But is it more critical though, even though it's declined in the broad sense? Does the good stuff count more?
CG: Good art criticism? I can't say. I know my stuff never counted much — which isn't to say it was good criticism.
RRB: Speaking from my own experience, your stuff counts a lot.
CG: Only in retrospect.

RRB: I know a lot of people look to you and to other critics like you to provide encouragement. Was that always the case (in history)?
CG: I don't know enough ... that aspect of the past hasn't been researched enough — put it that way. It's like so many aspects.... The French had a lot of art critics, most of whom wrote rather well, I thought. They're all in discredit now because they weren't for the Impressionists.
EK: It seems to me that what you're getting nowadays are star critics and star curators and the artists are often marginalized. There's so much emphasis on art writing and theory and theoretical writing and curatorial approaches that somehow the art seems to get lost.
CG: I don't agree with you. Maybe out here they do, but not in New York.
RRB: Related to this, my theory is that there are important critics and they count quite a bit to artists. I'm wondering if the art of our era is more subject to decay.
CG: Being influenced by art writing and publicity?
RRB: Just by popular taste or something. Whether these people (the critics) need to be here because it's harder to make good art these days.
CG: I don't think so. I think there's more promising young art around now than there was 30 years ago.

And on "high art":

RRB: What is the importance of high art. What does great art do? Does it improve people morally?
CG: I don't think so. It's a value in its own right. It's an ultimate value. It's prized for itself. It's not a supreme value. That's the mistake the "art for art's sake" people make. But it's something desirable for its own sake — the experiencing of it. Not because it improves you.
RHB: You mean it's purely sensorial?
CG: No, we won't talk about what aesthetic experience consists of. It's something that's of value in its own right.
RHB: It's intrinsically satisfying.
CG: Intrinsically. Whether it's Shakespeare or whether it's Beethoven or whether it's Titian. It's an ultimate end, an end in itself. But not a supreme end.
RRB: What things would you put in that category?
CG: Supreme.... Human life. Human beings.[75]

Where might Boulet and Kidd have gone wrong? They were committed to a plurality of views, they said, but Greenberg's trite-and-true ones? Could Greenberg be part of a political compromise? Could the printing of his interview pacify the opposition? What about the gallery's wider public? The community at large? How do they figure in the new scheme of things? The elusive "public" must be fleshed out; the "community" must be defined and then the role of the Gallery as well as the function of art in the community be thought through along with the "public" in dialogue: Can exchanges like the one above affect the social construction of women artists, of paintings? Saskatoon art historian Cheryl A. Meszaros avers:

> We do not have to challenge the viewers, we have to talk with them. Let's stop reading a poem in Swahili to an audience that does not understand a word of the language, and then expecting them to respond in an appropriate, aestheticized manner, and then holding conferences about why they don't respond in they way we want them to. We have to stop our incessant monologues. We have to rewrite the idea that the gallery experience is one of private consumption. We are willing to name as right-wing ideas about ownership of art, ideas about connoisseurship, but we, like the art teachers in the school system, still retain our exclusive right to name art knowledge, to possess it, and to dole it out as the feudal lords handed out food and clothing on feast days — only we call them openings.[76]

I looked for clues as to why the Boulet/Kidd team, despite their good intentions, could only alienate more people than ever, and found them in the pages of _Update_ and _Outlook_ and in the words of the gallery's board members, the official statements. When Roger Boulet was hired, the then president of the board in his announcement said that the board was not "intending to make any major changes"[77] the board's 1990 mission statement[78] stated as its most important commitments the areas of exhibition, collection, preservation, research, and documentation of the finest available art. It also spoke of commitment to "its public," but the public was never defined. Any cursory look in the back pages of _Update_ or _Outlook_ will show that the immediate public, the gallery's membership, is corporate heavy; that the board members, who become the final arbiters of what happens or does not happen at the EAG, are drawn from the same corporate world; and finally, that the patrons and benefactors, all come also from the corporate world.

Corporate involvement in the arts through board membership and corporate patronage through corporate collections is a very recent phenomenon throughout the western world; it goes back to the 1950s in the United States,[79] the 1960s in eastern Canada, and only the 1970s and 1980s in western Canada.[80] Corporate collection began as interior decoration schemes but during the boom years was elevated to "a kind of reward index of status within a company."[81] And although most corporate executives involved with art will profess not to care about its investment value, they do spend their days earning a return for their share holders; more importantly, any look at corporate collections will reveal tangible objects of art — paintings, sculptures, fibre art, prints, and so on. As one executive said, "We try to buy paintings that could be enjoyed without having a PhD in the fine arts."[82] In summer 1986 Gerald J. Gongos and Deborah Witiwicki from the Update interviewed and introduced Bill Weir, the 1986-87 president of the EAG board. Here are excerpts from that exchange:

> Update: *How far back does your association with The Edmonton Art Gallery go, and what initially drew you to the gallery?*
>
> Weir: Having been born and brought up in Edmonton, my association with the gallery goes back many years. I suppose it started with my wife's involvement and then with my own when I joined the board in 1981. I have also had a

personal interest in art; my wife and I collect paintings for our home, and we have visited major galleries in Canada and abroad.

I have worked on most of the EAG's board committees, but the most fulfilling was programs and acquisitions, which I chaired this past year. The input we had from members on that committee was excellent. It is a somewhat frustrating area too, because for a non-professional in the visual arts, there are many challenging questions to take into account in deciding what art should be added to the collection. Do you like it or don't you, is it good or isn't it, why didn't you like it, and what other artists should be considered, etc.

Update: Are there areas of improvement that you see as necessary, and that you might tackle as president in 1986?

Weir: Coming from the business community, I hate to see a deficit. So I'm concerned about the financial aspects of the gallery. The budgetary constraints of recent years have struck at the heart of the gallery — its programs and professional staff. Last year's shortfall necessitated the shutdown of the art education department, the postponement of hiring an historical curator, and the closure of the gallery's library.

One of our priorities will be fund-raising so that we will be able to reinstate these services, and free our staff to concentrate on their individual areas of expertise. We also need to increase curatorial staff. After all, a gallery is not merely mortar and stone. It is the art and the professionals who animate the gallery who are of utmost important.

A key is to look at the future and decide where the gallery should go with its programs to best fulfil its mandate to exhibit and collect fine paintings, photographs, sculptures, and drawings. I'd like to see long-range planning for the EAG. It's not only important to recognize where we are going to be in the next season, but also to look ahead for the next five, or even 10 years.

Update: How might the gallery solicit people's views on its programs and, in general, better communicate with the community?

Weir: We should encourage more people to submit their comments on our programs when they are visiting the EAG. We could also get the media involved — radio, television, print; an "art corner" in the *Edmonton Journal or Sun*, for example, would allow the gallery to talk about its programs and provide a forum for public opinions. It's our job to get the message out. Let's explain how that blob of paint got there and how the artist did it. I didn't understand how and why a painting by Lawrence Poons could be art until it was described to me.[83]

The EAG's "immediate" and possibly its only "public" is resolutely grounded in modernist aesthetic theories, and practices its beliefs in a thoroughly modernist institution of art, centred on objects of art/commodities, some of which are more priceless than others and "do not require a PhD" to be enjoyed. It is difficult to escape the irony that at the time of Roger Boulet's departure, the main exhibit at the EAG was a travelling exhibit organized by the Winnipeg Art Gallery, "Spirit of Ukraine — 500 Years of Painting: Selections from the State Museum of Ukrainian Art, Kiev." There was also a historical survey of the work of the Alberta Society of Artists, curated by Mark Joslin (to the Society's complaints that they were ignored by the gallery, Terry Fenton had replied that their time had passed ... but no more. Rumour is that Roger Boulet resigned because of differences with the board on how to spend the acquisition funds: they wanted to lock in five-years acquisition funds plus savings from staff eliminations in order to acquire Douglas Haynes's *The Toledo Series* (the series is for sale in its totality, thirteen paintings); Boulet disagreed and in effect had to resign, although he is still around the gallery helping. The gallery is now under the director ship of a committee of senior staff, until a new director is found. In the meantime, Edmonton's other legitimators, the art dealers, are keeping their distance from the ideological wars and trying to keep their galleries economically viable.

> Doctrinaire modernists and generalists alike failed to see the privileged site the art world has become. Even politically informed managers willing to allow a broad range of voices to be heard did not see their privileged position, the insularity of the art world, the colonizing nature of its current practices. These

practices were described as follows by Cheryl A. Meszaros, education co-ordinator, of the Mendel Art Gallery in Saskatoon:

> We withdraw into the privileged spaces of the boardroom, and there we construct our justifications, using slogans such as "challenging the public" and "reflecting a broad range of social/poetical views." We retreat into the banking theory of education, assuming that our understandings of art and the world are the ones that must be deposited into the public psyche. We "discourse" about art in terms that are incomprehensible to the "public," and we give them such meagre response mechanisms — they can put nasty notes in the comment book, tell their friends not to come — that we can guarantee that rarely will anyone speak against the status quo of art as we define it. Then we are outraged when they access the forms of feedback they do have, the media and city council. We sloganize, we publicize, in other words we use the tools of the oppressor, and then we ask, in our paternal way, how we can "make controversial art more accessible." In this light, we are the colonizers; we construct the "other" — the "audience" — as being in a deficit position. In our specious way, we say we provide the space for the other voices; but which other? Certainly not my aunts; we exclude them, we put them out to pasture, relegate them to the realm of the visually illiterate public, and feed them Verners and the Group of Seven and call it a job well done."[84]

c. Art Dealers

In 1984 I undertook an examination of Edmonton's exhibition system following the typology of Marcia Bystryn's article "Art Galleries as Gatekeepers" (1918): At that time a map of Edmonton galleries produced by the Alberta Department of Culture included forty-nine galleries. Thirteen carried mostly contemporary paintings by local, national, and international artists; of the thirteen one had gone out of business since the printing of the and a second had transferred hands. Since then, five more have gone out of business leaving only six galleries that have managed to weather recessionary times as well as a constantly increasing number of artists entering the system. The galleries that have been around the longest are Front Gallery, Horizon Galleries, Kathleen Laverty (formerly The Hett Gallery), Vik Gallery, West End

Galleries, and Woltjen/Udell Gallery (formerly the Downstairs Gallery). Bystryn identified two types of galleries: one seeing its role as a cultural institution run by artists or would-be artists and having close ties with the artistic community, and the second seeing its role primarily as a business marketing a product. Although committed to good art, this second type of gallery bases its decisions on economics and relations with artists are cordial but not too close. The first type of gallery takes risks in promoting controversial styles and artists, and thus acts as both a clearing house and a legitimator for the second type, which in turn successfully markets those artists who pass the initial test. Bystryn was neither the first nor the last sociologist to utilize ideal and polar types in the examination of art worlds[85] from Bystryn's New York to Michal McCall's St. Louis, these studies provided some tidy illustrations of sociological theories, but failed to account for the intricate empirical realities of parochial art worlds, how the members of those networks adapted and/or adopted an exhibition and legitimation system that has its roots in nineteenth-century Europe. Much reshifting has taken place in the exhibition system[86] although the temporary exhibit — annuals, biennials, theme shows, historical surveys, one-person retrospectives, and soon — made its appearance in the nineteenth century, it did not attain its prominence in the art world as the most important venue of "entertainment and tuition in the visual arts"[87] until the post-war period. The contemporary gallery system is but a "small scale dispersed salon,"[88] a system that gives increasing power to art dealers and art curators — and as long as contemporary art schools and departments keep graduating more and more artists who produce paintings for an ever-decreasing and dispersed public and collectors, the power of these art dealers and curators as mediators, gatekeepers, and legitimators is bound to increase.

In the case of Edmonton's art world, the person who played the role of cultural pioneer was Terry Fenton and, to a lesser extent, Karen Wilkin. Without Fenton's appointment and lengthy tenure as director of the most important art institution in Edmonton, things might have been different in the city's art world. The sort of relationship Fenton had with many of the local abstract painters is not, as we have seen, favourably viewed by a number of artists in the community. This is not the case of art dealers in the city: "If it were not for Terry Fenton, I think we probably would have been like any other Canadian art gallery in a Canadian city. I think it was Terry Fenton and Karen Wilkin side by side who put Edmonton on the map"[89]; or "I think the largest single influence in this town in non-representational art is Terry Fenton."[90] Fenton talks about his relationship with art dealers:

> [I] and my curators get asked questions by art dealers from time to time. There's an exchange, yes, I think that's as it should be. They really like to discover somebody. And what they mean is that they want to discover someone who's already famous, but at the same time, they don't want to take the risk because he may not become famous. And I think they'll just wait around and see if some other art dealer is going to take a look at this guy, and they often lose out. I've seen dealers lose some really good artists that way. The problem in Edmonton is it's an art-producing community more than an art-collecting community. This is one of the problems that the dealers have here in Edmonton, and it's not entirely their faults. It's hard to expect a city of half a million to support world-class art.[91]

During the last of the boom years and the beginning of the bust in the 1980s, a gallery opened in Edmonton that saw itself as a cultural institution, as an institution committed to promoting the best art (read: abstract art). But the artists it acquired were "mavericks" in the art world, whom someone else had incorporated into the marketplace through intensive promotion; the artists had first been carried by other local galleries and had been legitimated by the EAG, the university, and other venues. The gallery saw itself as filling a gap in Edmonton's art market, as being a gallery that was highly concentrated on non-representational art and that would not be run in "business-like" fashion but instead "educate" the public on good art:

> There were galleries in Edmonton that had shown some abstract art, but for some reason they were more businesslike than anything else, like in terms of the actual display or the actual show itself, showing the work, their gallery, to educate the public. And what ends up happening is an educational process, where the artist comes into my gallery environment, and we have this confrontation, so I'm the middleman, but it's a real beautiful position to be in. So an artist can't understand a businessman, and sometimes a businessman can't understand the artists, so you have this confrontation. That's education.[92]

The director's decision to take the middleman's position between the artist and collector followed a common practice for art dealers. However, this director's approach as the sole judge of the "actual purity of quality of art" in relation only to his environment was less common:

> When I decide on new artists, well, I decide from my own taste — I don't know if you can call it as knowledge, it's just difficult. When I really wanted to become a painter, I'd look at the other artists that paint maybe similar to what I had wanted to accomplish, and I'd look at application — and that determines whether or not I like it. But it's a real personal character of myself that makes me decide. I mean, I have to really like that painting, and I have to — or that artist — and it has to be more than just one painting, it has to be a lot of work, and it has to be work done over a period of years before I even accept an artist.[93]

Apparently this gallery owner felt no need to incorporate historical and art criticism considerations within the decisions whom to represent. Fenton's influence in the art world of Edmonton was downplayed, as was the role of other galleries: "If somebody wants to buy Olitskis, I send them to another gallery. I don't even bother with them. A lot of dealers are there for a reason: to obtain money. The other galleries, they focus on everybody [they say]. I have something for everybody: if you want a little landscape, a little ducky in there, I have a little ducky for you! But if you — if someone comes in [to my gallery] and says, I want to buy a landscape — I don't sell that. I'm sorry. Go to somebody else."[94]

When I asked about the number and type of customers the gallery deals with and who they are, the reply was short on specifics but revealing of the director's temperament:

> All the clients that come here, come here for these people [his artists]. So I feel like there's thousands of people, because they tell one and so on and so on, and it grows, so I can't tell. But there's a lot of them. I can't give you — I can't even think of a percentage for some reason. I've made money for the first time, and I'm going to make more. It's not just Edmonton, there's New York, there's Toronto, there's all these other areas that come to Edmonton. I have made a gallery that is very strong and has proved to the city that when a collector from New York which belongs to a group of maybe fifty thousand people comes to Edmonton and they say, "I want to buy this," I've got all of a sudden fifty thousand people.[95]

This director's opinion on the local tradition as separate from the one in New York, and the description of how Greenberg operates or has operated, differs radically from accounts provided by Fenton and other members of the art community:

> I mean, Greenberg isn't standing over them every day like he stood over Olitski and these other people, or like he even stands over some artists in New York now. He comes up here once every two years and puts his little cross over [an artist and says] "this guy's good, this guy's bad." And the guy's good for a year and he gets a big head and he screws up; and then [Greenberg's] here two years later, I mean, he's an old man now. I think these artists have a lot more, or deserve a lot more, than that — it comes out of the Greenberg tradition, but we also have our own tradition.[96]

And the business plan was unique and ambitious among Edmonton galleries:

> I want to have a gallery in New York; I want to have a gallery or sister gallery, and I want to get some of my money back. That's the business decision, and I want to promote these artists in the States because there's a lot of art public out here. I don't know if it's good or bad. Usually when there's something that people can't get, they have to get it, and they'll fly all the way out here to get it.[97]

Responses such as these make it very difficult to apply Bystryn's ideal types: Is this gallery committed to cultural innovation and promotion of the local artistic tradition? Is it committed to its artists, their critical and financial success — or its public, whatever its size may be? Can a gallery provide cultural innovation without commitment and ability to overcome obstacles, whether economical or symbolic?

> I opened up an art [supplies] store. That's my garbage stuff. Yet, that's how I pay the rent, and it's great. But it's separate, completely separate. It helps me provide this kind of environment, so I can give a clear view of what the artist is trying to do, or I provide another environment. This is just an open space, and every time someone walks in it's different, but it's completely the artist's environment. An artist loses a lot of money; the dealer loses a lot of money, if he's the kind of dealer I am. If I'm a real businessman, I could open up a hamburger stand and make a million dollars. And I could have been retired in the art store, I could have been, because I don't even work there and it's making all this money.[98]

The director's commitment to the gallery's financial success was forestalled by that director's nescient views of the art world and tenuous grasp of basic marketing principles in a very competitive market. Above facts , coupled with the artist's lack of understanding of market forces, which makes them susceptible to the siren song of the dealer's pitch, ("I can make you famous and wealthy — show you all over the world"), created for a while a most interesting traffic of painters and paintings across the city, some time after the last interview.

Shortly after my data were collected, the gallery went out of business. Its director initially became an art "consultant" and then faded from the art scene; most of the painters who "defected" to this gallery have been absorbed back, either by the galleries they left or by a newer gallery that sees itself as being committed to abstract painting (it concentrates on local buyers and has some ties with one of Edmonton's oldest galleries specializing on Indian art and handicrafts). Most art dealers/directors try to conceal the business part of their profession, and others simply ignore it, either because they can ignore it, as was the case with Fenton or because, perhaps, they simply don't know any better, as was the case with the dealer discussed above. In a way, as Raymonde Moulin pointed out, art dealers in their efforts to succeed play out society's expectations as if their profession were ruled not by profit, but by their abiding love for art and the purity of its cultural values.

I spoke with other art dealers, two women and a man, dealers/directors of galleries that survived the post-oil bust of the early 1980s, who also see their galleries as focusing on the development of an art world in Edmonton while keeping contacts with art worlds in Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, New York, and so on. Although their commitment is to good art, their energies are mostly spent in securing good art products (i.e. ones that are saleable). They too would like to be seen as supporting new artists in an artistic pool, but what they really do is promote their choice of good art they seem to keep in contact with other dealers and are interested in knowing what the competition has to offer, and all three were adamant about not "raiding" other galleries' "stables." Leaving aside for a while ideal-typical notions of how dealers operate and the analytical safety they provide, what follows are the stories of some of Edmonton's longest-operating actors.

> If you compare the history of our gallery and the history of their galleries and what they have shown across this country, I think we stand in good stead. We've brought in a lot of art which was never shown here before, certainly never for sale, even if it was shown. If you set trends as a dealer just like an artist, you will get a reputation for doing that which will enable you to sell art better than without that reputation, just like an artist can. Local artists really haven't finished their discoveries yet. It doesn't appear that they have contributed a whole lot of what was already known. There's a lot of them that have the capabilities, but they look an awful lot like their peers in New York and once their peers have set the standard they can beat their head against the wall as long as they want, they're not going to go anywhere. There are only so many people that can be at the top, can be the leaders in any work form, and as I see Edmonton right now, there are some excellent artists in this city that are doing some excellent work as a result of an influence by many people. But those people that have influenced the artists here, I believe, have been more the trend-setters than, say, the people who are working here in Edmonton. And for that reason I'm not as interested in local artists at this point, although I'm always keeping my eye open and always looking. There are people in Canada who are capable. There has not been anyone in Canada that I am aware of who has individually created a totally unique and individual style on a world scale. A lot of that has to do, I believe, with the fact that a lot of the arts is a result of promotion and we just don't have the system available to be able to compete in the arts on a world scale. If you have the right people promoting your work at

> the right time at the right place with the right amount of effort, credibility is established, and credibility is only going to be had if the Canadian art market has the support of the people of Canada and the government of Canada. Otherwise, we're not going to do anything.[99]

This gallery now represents local artists as well as the "big" names, those who created the new styles: Olitski from New York; Canadian artists of the older generation such as Riopelle and Cosgrove; Jack Bush, probably the most famous Canadian abstract painter; and Dorothy Knowles and William Perehudoff. Not many unknown or struggling artists are found in this gallery; they leave the risk-taking and legitimating rites to others. Because of this the gallery has a reputation of being run by "shrewd" businessmen:

> As you get older as a gallery and you establish yourself in a particular area of art, growing in and out of that area as art changes becomes more and more difficult for artists as it does for collectors, as it does for art dealers. And a lot of the business that you do as you go down the road is return business — paintings that you get back for resale. Your motive to sell good art to private individuals is in the hope that one day you'll get them back for resale. Many of the older galleries in the world live totally off resale of work that they once sold twenty, thirty years [ago]. I hope that one day we will be in the same position. And it's important for this reason: I'd be making money off work that I've already sold.[100]

Although there doesn't seem to be much room or energy for catering to emerging and/or local artists in their gallery, there is always time, resources, and energy for buyers. There is an extensive collection of slides, books, articles, exhibition and auction catalogues, and data stored on their computer — most importantly, this information is shared readily.

Dealing with consecrated art rather than struggling artists allows the gallery to deal in a cool and detached manner:

> Pricing is relative to our ability to see an artist's place in history. With the knowledge that we currently have available to us, we make a decision, and that decision will be the price. It'll decide whether or not who had set a trend did so on just a local basis or, say, on a regional basis or a national or international basis. As the scale increases, so does the price, and price relies a lot on productivity of the artist, price relies a lot on availability of the artist; an artist dies, his work immediately goes up.[101]

The gallery's commitment to a consecrated product as opposed to its producer, coupled with its preference for already established artists, means its fostering of painting in Edmonton will be minimal.

Other dealers have taken a slightly different approach. One of Edmonton's most successful galleries began its career because its owner needed a career change. And after some initial research that showed the market could afford another art gallery, the stage was set:

> When I had what I thought was enough money to fund a gallery, which for me was half a million dollars in cash, plus an income coming from other places that would support the gallery.... and having done that, I opened the gallery. But in the meantime I learned a lot about how galleries worked. I went off one winter and sold for somebody else.... When we first opened the gallery we started inviting various groups of people — we invited all the doctors in town, invited all the lawyers in town, that sort of thing."[102]

Very quickly this dealer became a leader in Edmonton, representing the majority of the local abstract painters and sculptors. This gallery shared the same commitment to selling good art in Edmonton as the previous one, but the difference in temperament showed in the commitment to good art regardless of where it was produced, here, New York, or Toronto. On choosing unsolicited work, the dealer said:

> If we are interested in pursuing it further, we will arrange for a studio visit whereby we can see art that the artist has produced over a number of years, because I want to see, first of all, that the artist is progressing, not that they're churning out the same paintings all the time. I then talk to the artist, because I want to know the artist. I think that great paintings are going to come from great people. I want to know what their goals and objectives are, I want to know where they come from, and education doesn't necessarily mean a lot. You can get a lot of extremely good artists who don't have a lot of formal schooling; it doesn't matter whether they've got one, two, three degrees or not. I want to know whether they paint to make a living, or paint because they have to. And there's a difference. The artists that are going to make it, despite everything, despite the ups and downs, have to paint; they can't live without painting. And they're the sort of artists that you're really interested in carrying, it's the most important thing in their life.[103]

So, many artists knocked at this new door. Not all of them were abstract artists, but all were shown interest and praised. Some young painters got wall space, and most of the time what one saw during a visit to this gallery was a mixed bag of goods: abstracts from New York, local abstract works, young landscape painters from southern Alberta, so-called primitives from central Alberta, a lot of Group of Seven and other established eastern Canadian artists. This rather unusual combination worked because of her commitment to art and artists. This commitment to artists, combined with the desire to provide the best for the customer, gave this dealer different insights as to how one best relates with artists:

> All artists have very fragile egos, or virtually all artists, and you have to sort of smooth the ruffled feathers. But really — this is a terrible thing to say; well, I'm

> going to say it anyway — I would rather deal with an out-of-town artist than an Edmonton artist, because local artists tend to waste too much of your time, and I'm in the business of selling their art, and my first priority in the day has to be my customer. And yet, if you go off and see a customer, and it's not one of their paintings you're selling, their egos get hurt. They're time consuming. You've got too many egos and ruffled feathers to smooth. If an artist walks into a gallery, and you haven't got one of their paintings on the wall, they get very upset, a lot of them do. They're not businessmen. They don't realize that you can't hang everything all the time, and you have to change your walls.[104]

Strong cash flow, social connections, outgoing personalities, and ability to travel, among other factors, enabled this gallery to quickly establish good working relationships with other major galleries in Canada and New York. Terry Fenton was a visitor, as were Clement Greenberg and the rest of the New York connection. Things seemed to be destined to sustain a high note indefinitely; then the world economy bottomed out, the Alberta boom became a bust, and business ground to a near-halt. As art sales slowed, costs cutting measures were taken: colour invitations and expensive wines at openings became a thing of the past, and advertising in groups or in local papers became the norm in the hope of surviving the worst recession Alberta had so far known. The reality of the harsh times, though, seem not to have registered with many of the gallery's artists:

> About eighteen months ago I had two artists whose work I carried, who said, "Well, I'm not selling at two thousand dollars; therefore, I will raise my prices to five thousand dollars, because I won't sell there either." They're not giving it any thought or any discussion with their dealer, and it's tough to justify to the consumer. And you're going to have a justify it out in the marketplace.[105]

This art dealer understood the marketplace and knew how to make money, but was unable to renegotiate her financial relationship with the artists in the new market conditions:

> Prices go up. I think you have your eye on local, regional, and national, and international [prices]. Each time you expand, the demand for your paintings, hopefully, becomes greater, and, therefore, your prices can go up. But you have to have a basis to start at. A young artist starts at low prices, in my opinion, and that's where they should go, because it is better for me as a painter to sell a hundred paintings — every painting I can produce that year — and break even on my studio costs, which, therefore, allows me to paint, you know, carry on painting, than for me to have to subsidize it doing something else because I can't sell because my prices are too high.[106]

The irony of the whole situation is that the artists who left this gallery for the promises of the first gallery discussed in this chapter did not get any better exposure in the new place — recession had also hit the other side of the city. And despite the first director's boastfulness, nobody was buying; if anyone came from abroad they too left with empty hands:

> There is a lot more collecting from artists like Haynes, Keller, Peacock, than ever before. There is a lot more corporate collecting, there is a lot more private collectors buying these artists because, number one — and it's not just Edmonton; they come from the States — Americans come here. And people from Toronto come and buy Edmonton art, people from Vancouver come and buy Edmonton art. It's quality art. All these artists have worked for years and now, finally people are recognizing all these artists have worked for years and they've gone very, very slow and have struggled and struggled and struggled and now, finally, people are recognizing all these struggles, all these artists, and saying, "My God, they're actually great painters!" And they're not charging fifty thousand dollars, not even charging ten; they're charging five, three, two, one thousand dollars and they're saying — as businessmen, now, I'm talking about business ... I am going to buy them because I like them."[107]

Pretending to ignore the commodity aspect of contemporary art is one thing; but to actually do so in the name of a commitment to art is another. To attempt to innovate without a financial plan/strategies to overcome the unpredictable economic conditions of a market economy, portends failure. The favourable gatekeeping role of the Edmonton Art Gallery under the direction of Terry Fenton created the necessary conditions for Edmonton to become a site of production of abstract painting. The Edmonton Art Gallery, being public, allowed Fenton and his curators the economic luxury of taking creative risks longer, thus acting as a clearing-house for new styles and artists. Fenton, of course, could not be instrumental in the creation of a buying public, but his efforts and commitment created reasonable expectations that a market might be developed. His contacts with New York and close relationships with key persons in other major art centres legitimated the art produced in the local art community, but he basically pushed American painters to a handful of corporate buyers, a fact left the local art dealers to create a collecting public. And as the 1980s progressed, the going got tougher for local galleries:

> My own philosophy, when I started out, was that I had to swim right, I could not sink so I had to really assess what would bring me a constant income and I don't think I have compromised myself too much but some of the things that I have in the inventory are not museum quality art. They are commercial, done by more commercial artists but I also know that if I have a certain percentage of that type of art in my gallery, then from this population base of 750,000 that I would get a number of people. And my goal, my more esoteric goal from that, is to have those people come back and see the better art and hopefully move on to that. Right now, I put on a lot of exhibitions and it's a lot of work. You have to do that to get better artists. They want exhibitions and that takes time and it takes a certain place but I think it's not only dollars and cents, it's a span of time. Fortunately for me, I have not had a problem with any of the artists in that I've had to cancel the show for anything too drastic. I haven't had those

> problems. You plan your schedule then you set a date, but you haven't decided what type of a show that person is going to have. It might be retrospective, might be new work, it might be a combined show with two or three artists so you have to pick inventory works which will go with each other. You have to have something photographed so you can do all your invitations and it is cheaper to do them all at the same time. Well, let's say, like I have got these fifty artists. Now if I have ten shows a year, that's either ten one-man shows or, say six one-man shows and a number of group shows, so I am showing at the most a dozen to thirteen different artists in the year. If I have fifty they are not all going to a show every year. But of that fifty, probably only twenty-five of them are the right type of artists to be given a show, a one-man or even a group show. When I say right type, a lot of work that I have is here because it fits into a little niche, a little category, just to have if a certain customer comes in the door and needs something. So I don't even consider those ones. I don't consider giving those people shows.... I find myself much more prone to displaying and promoting the artists that treat me better. When I say treat me better, I am talking about that in a business sense. If I can rely on them to have good photographs of their work if I need them, up-to-date biographies, rather than me doing all that work, they take their job seriously in a professional way, I find that I bend over backwards for those ones just as much as they do.[108]

Back in the 1980s no art dealer ever spoke to me in such specific detail of the costs of running a gallery such as rent, publicity, and insurance costs. A dealer's ability to innovate and/or service is an outcome of the negotiating strategies that she/he employs, the balance between motivation/commitment and availability of resources, artistic talent and a constant understanding of the shifts — artistic or economic — as well as the position that a dealer/gallery occupies at any given time in the art world:

> I'm a great believer in our working together, and we in this area of the city now [are] advertising together, have regular meetings every two weeks to put advertising together to try to coordinate the openings of shows. If someone comes here and I haven't got what they want, I will refer them to another gallery. I don't think we can do it by ourselves. I can take a customer of mine into "*X*" Gallery and sell my customer a painting off their wall, and we have an unwritten thing between us that we split commissions fifty-fifty then. I haven't

> got all the art in the world, and I have customers that don't go to other people; they're just going to buy from me. I cannot help them build a good collection if I don't go to other places to do it. And twenty percent of something is better than no percent.[109]
>
> So I would say I have an amicable relationship with them. ... they have a hard job and they know that I have a hard job and that we are both serious about what we do, so you respect each other's ... you keep the communication open. I don't want to alienate anybody and they don't want to alienate anybody whatsoever either.[110]

The black hole in Edmonton's art world is its public. The commercial galleries do not fare much better than the EAG in this area of knowledge. There has not been systematic research on the buying public in Edmonton's art world of painting: gallery directors were extremely reluctant to give information, claiming an obligation to protect their clients' confidentiality. But they all gave general descriptions of their buying clientele.

> There are probably less than a thousand buyers in Edmonton. Most of my non-representational buyers are older people, over forty or fifty. Older people, having looked at art longer, can understand it better, they know themselves and dare put an abstract painting on the wall. They are mostly upper-income bracket, better educated, business or stockbrokers, persons who have carved a position for themselves.[111]
>
> They are educated; there are lots of lawyers, doctors, accountants, businessmen; in general they are well educated and interested in the arts.[112]
>
> Most of my buyers are educated, but they're not all wealthy. I even have a mechanic, a car mechanic. But you'd never think he'd come and buy fine art, but he does. He loves it. Maybe the money has given him certain tastes, I don't know. Maybe his social life — he's out with the uppity-ups, or whatever. So I have a lot of people buying my art now.[113]
>
> I don't believe patrons exist in Edmonton, not that I'm aware of. We have a couple of — we have about five reasonably major collectors in a number of areas, but nobody that is a Hirchorn or anything like that; even though they have this

> boom of sorts, I don't think they had it long enough to establish the really culturally important people.[114]

And according to Terry Fenton:

> Most of my clients have disposable income. I would say that the age would be between thirty and fifty and I have another client base that is sort of over that, sixty and getting back to doing things together. They are husband and wife, into their final home and they are decorating. But the real collectors, I find, are often single men. Lawyers, mostly. Very few accountants or engineers; assorted businessmen, like furniture company owners, retail.... Most of them buy for themselves and not their businesses, and they buy mostly in order to decorate.[115]
>
> We don't have a big collector in town. I wish we had some kind of big flamboyant collector that would buy twenty to thirty pictures a year, more than he could handle, but we don't have anything like that. There's been one or two collectors who have only bought big names and always say that the local stuff isn't good enough for them.[116]

With such a small pool from which to draw buyers, Edmonton art dealers have learned to adapt to the new conditions: fewer shows, not always colour-reproduction of works on the invitations not always carrying blue-chip painters, but trying to respond to the client's needs: if someone wants "duckies," then "duckies" he/she gets. There have been some serious collectors, such as Stuart Olson, Al Perch, Dr. William Lakey, or the Kulacks, but their collections consist mainly of American painters, eastern Canadians, with only the odd local artist. In the meantime, more and more local painters collect aesthetic epaulets that they cannot translate into sales. Some try to keep a level attitude and not raise their prices; others compare themselves to their American counterparts and do raise their prices, thus marginalizing themselves more within the local market. And basically, the local market is all that they ever had. But everyone seems to agree that there are both good painters and excellent paintings in Edmonton's art world; Fenton, for example, says that local works of art

> are bargains because they're underpriced in relation to the quality, okay? It's very frustrating for the artist. One particular problem here is that, being in Edmonton, which is really one of the edges of western civilization, it's hard to attract people here. A few people do come, just to see the art, but not enough. And it's hard to get the art out, partly because of the economy, partly because of the nature of artistic fashion right now which is very, very anti-abstract art at the moment, and then partly because of the nature of Canada, because it's dominated by Toronto, really, and Ottawa.[117]

In the opinion of a commercial dealer:

> At least the Canadian artists in Edmonton, some of the most professional in the country are now here, and they're younger people, making a real stab at doing something credible now. These things take time and it'll take time to see, and as we all grow as dealers and as artists, maybe those things will change. In Edmonton, there's no doubt that, to a certain degree in one particular area of influence, which is the Greenbergian school, Edmonton is considered to be very strong and a very positive force.[118]

Though it is true much that good art in the "Greenbergian school" is still being produced in Edmonton, two very important things have changed: (a) the economy, and (b) with the aesthetic ascent of the varieties of neo-expressionism throughout the major art producing/consuming centres, a tendency to support even more realistic styles of painting.

To be an art dealer is costly, but to be an aesthetically innovative one can be detrimental to a gallery's well-being in a small, parochial art world such as Edmonton's. To be artistically pioneering without a long-term secure financial basis is to risk one's financial future and reputation. Raymonde Moulin quotes advice on how Parisian dealers succeed: "Boldness in buying, patience in selling. Never hurry. Time does not count"; or "Learn to wait,"[119] advice that could have come from the handful of galleries that are still operating in Edmonton. The ones who appear unwilling to wait, those who refuse to see or accept that there is a big difference in the number of probable buyers or that producing/selling paintings is an extremely expensive occupation, are the painters. They blame — always "off the record" — the dealers' knowledge of art, commitment to art as opposed to business, and financial habits, all somehow deficient. The dealers/directors rarely talk about other dealers; they won't even talk about the massive exodus and subsequent dispersal of abstract painters from traditional galleries to new-aesthetic/entrepreneurial sites. When dealers are asked their opinions about specific defections, gallery hoppers, raidings, and other acts of "disloyalty," they tell you to ask the artist or the other dealer. And even though they do not give opinions about their colleagues, they all seem to know who is showing what and at what prices. They keep in contact by phone, refer customers to one another from time to time, and are polite to each other at public gallery openings. They will refer to "prima donna" artists but never by name; of course, if one makes the rounds of gallery openings as I have done, one can figure out these artists. In the span of ten years they have moved to three or four galleries, because if their work does not sell, it is never anything to do with the quality of that work or the popularity of their style, but always the incompetence of the dealer, his/her stinginess, the lack of colour-photo invitation, insufficiently aggressive solicitation, no business acumen; and the list of complaints can descend to startling levels, involving the kind of sweets or type of wine offered at openings. The dealers quietly allow the painters to complain, and allow back into their "stable" those who might have defected but are worth keeping because they provide aesthetic legitimacy, or they are seen as "bigshots," "blue-chip," and will bring in, if not the well-heeled consumers, at least the art reviewers, thus keeping the gallery in the public's eye with minimal financial outlay. All dealers speak of their aesthetic concerns, but the successful ones at least always couple the aesthetic with the economic.

Again from years of going to gallery openings and visiting the same galleries on off-days, I discovered that galleries have a Janus face: during openings, beside the works specifically on exhibit, are shown comparable works of the same school similarly placed artists, and so on. One surmises that gallery *X* is known for its traditional work, or local work, or abstract work. There is a cohesiveness, as if the gallery is wearing its Sunday best during openings. The rest of the time a visitor will see the day-to-day operations including the wooing of customers who have come in search of "duckies" or an "autumn scene, sofa size." It is these sales that subsidize the expense of carrying name artists. Also, on the off-days one sees corporate buyers looking for inexpensive decorative works that will provide a more human environment to their offices as well as elevate the corporation to the status of supporter of the arts. Going in the back of these galleries or to the basement, one finds paintings of local or from out-of-town artists who never get shows but have a market for their work. It is those silent sales that allow the art dealers to disguise the aspect of commodification to their profession, and that allow them to display the "good" art that the knowledgeable buyer will choose — and for the latter they need the art reviewers. If an art dealer is the first step in the commodification of paintings, then the critics provide the aesthetic legitimation and singularization of paintings, which is nothing but the masking of the previous step and the elevation of the picture into an object of art. When enough critics think of a work as "good," then that work becomes valuable, and the really valuable more often than not end up in a museum where they become priceless through their removal from circulation within the exhibition system. The "ideal" career of a painting ends in a museum.[120]

d. Critics/Reviewers

When art dealers first appeared, their function was to help an uneducated public with the aesthetic intricacies of painting, to choose from a large supply of works, some of which might be good not only to look at but to also as an investment. All they had to do in the beginning was to advertise their "openings" in the local press and hire a writer to praise the artists and their work in order to make their openings look like those of the official salons in authority and legitimation. As the number of galleries increased so did the number of mass-circulation periodicals, and with them the number of reviewers, who eventually began competing with each other. As a result, a new category of art critics who were not philosophers came to exist: if art dealers chose the works that were perhaps good, then the art critics convinced the buyers of which ones were really good; the critics thus became an "indispensable intermediary between the artists and a public disoriented by constant change."[121]

During the 1960s, art criticism became an academic discipline and, increasingly over the next couple of decades, moved away from Diderot's descriptions of what we already know to a type of linguistic hermeticism such that even those who contribute to and support the contemporary critical dialogue seem baffled by their own pronouncements. Contemporary Canadian critics, those who write in the periodicals that "count," such as *Parachute*, *C*, *Vanguard* (before it went under), have appropriated theoretical bits and pieces and all the jargon from the psychoanalytical discussions of the eighties, feminist theory, discourse theory, social constructionist explanations, but for all their theoretical enlightenment, they have failed to recognise that the only changes have taken place are textual, that nothing has changed in the structure of the art world and particularly not *their* position in it, a position that allows them to dominate, however benevolently. For all their critical rhetoric about "practice," they have failed to engage in critical self-examination and reflection about *their* practice, about how they participate in the art world. Following are excerpts from a round table discussion in Toronto between critics, curators, artists and museum personnel on the topic "Contextualization and the Disappearance of the Art Object," an exercise that has brought some of these legitimators closer to an understanding of the interlocking system of power and *their* capacity to dominate:

> *Richard Rhodes*: We have learned how to contextualize art objects and with works like *commodity* and *cultural practice* there is no place that we cannot take the art work as a social construction. But what happens when someone says they don't understand or that they cannot see what critics, curators and artists say

there is to see in the art? How does understanding the context help then? For all the discursive power of contextualization, isn't the primacy that contextualization now holds as a system of description and interpretation part of a broadly rooted neglect of the object? Isn't the cynicism that now surrounds art a consequence of this neglect?

Carol Laing: It seems to me that the terms for the discussion are not cynicism, or lack of cynicism; or even whether cynicism is something new here. To me it goes back much further. This is a country that took more than a hundred years to get its National Gallery properly housed. We are talking about a certain viability that in this particular culture has never been there. And what we're also hearing now is that it is not there yet, whatever we may feel as artists, curators, critics, and cultural administrators. In that sense, I see it as more of an educational problem: we are discussing a certain lack that has always been there.

Rhodes: My problem is not with this "contextualizing" of the work, my problem is that once we begin to do this contextualizing it becomes obvious that we are discussing _our_ concerns. The work of art becomes a vehicle for these concerns. One of the reasons for inviting artists here was to have voices that could represent the fact there is a level of intention that goes into the work; that it is about things which are not completely fluid, not completely pliable to whatever our concerns as an audience happen to be. My concern, within the art scene, is to try and figure out a way to get that intentionality attended to, and of course as you attend to it you start to then experience a distance from a broad, cultural awareness of art. It seems to me that we here in the art scene have a political problem with elitism: one recognizes that the history of art is about this elitism, but at the same time, most of the people we know who are trying to construct art objects are trying to construct them within the bounds of a mentality that has no place for notions of elitism.

Laing: Even for those of us inside art, I am frankly not very sure, and often I do not feel very happy, about the job that we are able to do in terms of understanding the objects that we are making and receiving. The places that we seem to have put these objects in are also very problematic. For this culture has now a very different recent history than the late western civilizations from which our cultural institutions are derived, but which we as a people, already are not any more. How can that not put pressure on the ways that we make objects and look at them? And how can that not give us difficulty if we can only find those objects in certain places and only certain people know why they are there?

Gurney: What is happening is that there is a split in the art community. A lot of artists feel left out of the discourse, people feel that there is a certain kind of work that is made to be written about, and whether this is the case or not,

> people feel that way. These are people who think they are making art that is worth looking at and talking about but they also feel that nothing has been developed in terms of writing to talk about the kind of work that they are doing.
>
> _Laing_: I absolutely agree. I also think it has to do with the education of artists. When the show or exhibition opens, the voices that we all can hear are the voices of the critics and the curators. Occasionally there will be an artist's statement. This does not necessarily mean the artist's statement is the ultimate position regarding the work, but often it is coming from a very different place. This is exactly what we have not seen represented very well inside discourses about art. Contemporary art is a rule-bound order, available and accessible only to those who know the rules.[122]

The similarity of the above excerpts to the exchange that took place with Clement Greenberg in Edmonton begins and ends with the format of discussion. Edmonton's art language _du jour_ is not as critically _de rigueur_, nor does it resort to as many intonations of the tenets of contemporary post-modern theory. First of all, Edmonton has not had an indigenous critic, or one who has visited and written on a regular basis, with the exception of course of Clement Greenberg, and less often of Kenworth Moffett and Karen Wilkin. But Greenberg has not written any criticism since the 1960s; Moffett wrote his book on Jules Olitski and that got him a visible spot in New York's art world for a while, and Karen Wilkin is brought up only periodically to curate abstract exhibits. These three and Terry Fenton, and for a while Bente Roed Cochran and currently Lelde Muehlenbachs, are basically art reviewers with additional roles attached to their writing as there is need. They are or can be art historians, critics, curators, consultants, and who knows what else. They are not unique in their hyper-hyphenated status; only a handful of art worlds are big enough, with a large and constant number of media/publishing venues, to support and sustain art criticism, especially in the visual arts, which do not command as much interest by as wide a public as the performing and popular arts. The above-mentioned writers are not the only ones, they are simply the ones who have had access to the publications that count, the trade periodicals and journals. The *Edmonton Journal* has employed a large number of writers from its "Lifestyle" and "Entertainment" sections to report on the visual arts; of all those who have written for the *Journal* only Elizabeth Beauchamp has shown real interest and tenacity. She has been writing for over two years, and both her knowledge of the art scene and her socio-political acumen place her columns above the rest.

When it comes to resources for financing a medium for art writing, The Edmonton Art Gallery again comes at the top of the hierarchy. Beginning with its *Bulletin* in the 1920s and continuing with the *Update/Outlook* publications, the EAG has had a monopoly on publishing and what is being published: with the exception of an occasional note or opinion from outsiders, these publications were for the benefit of the galleries' curators, critics, historians, and other in-house staff. In 1979, 1980, and 1981 *Interface* was published as the "West's View of the Arts and Entertainment"; many of the writers in Edmonton got their training writing for *Interface*. It had reviews, opinions, general-interest articles, and took advertising from galleries, retail outlets and restaurants. Then from Calgary in 1981 came *Artswest*. It focused on visual arts and its ads came from galleries; it too closed down shortly thereafter because the readership could not support such a publication. In the meantime, in Edmonton the Visual Arts Branch of Alberta Culture began publishing its *Visual Arts*

Newsletter which was (and still is) sent for free to anyone who wants to receive it; but the material published in it, like that in *Update* and *Outlook*, supports the views and actions of the government and its visual "arts" legitimating institution, the Alberta Art Foundation. Then the *Edmonton Bullet* started publication as the arts and entertainment media vehicle. Most of those who call themselves art writers or critics have during the last decade been published in these two publications, one the government's voice, the other the knowledgable people's. Most of these writers form a group that has its roots in *Interface*, and almost all seem unable to make up their mind as to their position in the art world and the positions that they take on any aesthetic and political issues that have arisen. The exception is Lelde Meuhlenbachs, who contributes regularly to the *Bullet* and *Artpost*, the latest attempt to bring a national balance to *Canadian Art's* centralist stance. She is a formalist by training and practice, that is her writing is mostly of the normative/descriptive style, but is increasingly trying to develop a personal voice and personalized vision of the art world:

> **Another season, another Gallery Walk.** This time, I thought, I would go grazing on art. What if these were restaurants? What variety would I find? What sauces? Will there be more to the four food groups than colour, form, line and landscape? Will I crack a filling? Hoping to raise the next generation of art collectors, I took along my 14-year-old son. "Hey, there'll be snacks. So turn off Metallica and let's go gaze, graze ..." First stop, Horizon Gallery, and guess what — a watercolour of a can of Townhouse peas! Right inside the door! I'm glad I had dinner. The art at Horizon and West End turns out to be quite interchangeable, like automat fare. Sort of the Hearts and Hardhats of Edmonton's art world. West End, according to the 14-year-old, wins hands down on munchies - carrot cake and Nanaimos — and believe me, he needs pimple food. Front Gallery, as ever, is friendly, honest and homey, sort of a cross between Au Bon Appetit and Boardwalk. The best thing of all is that this

> gallery actually likes what it shows and has had a consistent style for years. Fickle menus just don't cut it. Woltjen Udell has to be the Tin Palace. There's stuff out front, lots of lights and a geographically diverse menu inside. Pre-recession chocolates and nuts have disappeared, though. (Sorry kid, I know I promised). Tonight it's the stuff outside that makes Gallery Walk. Ken Macklin's hovering steel pieces are impressive in the fall twilight. One of Edmonton's most serious sculptors, he proves that the quiet perseverance over all those years has been worth it (aesthetically, if nothing else, and that continues to count for a heck of a lot or should). His pieces are powerfully allusive and shift between threat and humour. Circles and waves undulate between end piers that defy gravity, propel the eye and confuse recognition. The steel works are still the most impressive although the mood change in his ceramic and bronze works inside shows off his breadth. Art as it should be. Edmonton-style. Why wouldn't anyone want to take one home? Take-out. Kathleen Laverty Gallery — a toss-up between Mr. John's and Whyte Earl's. It's now on the concourse, at the bus stop. Since her move from around the corner, cosy has given way to clatter city. Roller coaster variety of art, tonight. Yuriko Irarashi's delicate and floral pictures and Clay Ellis's sexually suggestive metal pieces are tough to take in the same visual take. All in all, too much roughage for after-dinner, too many uneventful cookies and crackers. Art slightly less exciting than munchies.[123]

Probably Muehlenbachs had her "post-modern catechism" in the summer of 1989, when she attended a two-week workshop at the Banff School of Arts on art criticism:

> This is how I spent my summer vacation: Thinking about art in Edmonton. Thinking about writing about art in Edmonton. Wondering what Edmonton really has to say. Or wants to hear. Ten arts journalists from across Canada were brought together by Russell Keziere, former editor of the unfortunately, now defunct *Vanguard* magazine (subtext: Is *Canadian Art*, which has yet to cover Edmonton, all we are going to be left with?) Do critical words only amount to a fiction? To what extent an operable fiction? How to inject more truth, less lie into that fiction? Have art critics been slaves to theory, dupes for deconstruction or just substructures of the market? Consider the potential violence of criticism. What is read with greater frequency, art criticism or obituaries? Why? A review must balance many voices, those of the artist, critic and the art in between. The consensus was the critics need to speak to artists rather than *for* them. Create dialogue. Thoughts kept shifting to Edmonton. It became apparent that Montreal knows as much about what's going on here as Edmonton knows about Oakville. Canada a country of cultural islands. Information frozen by distance and disinterest. Edmonton is still largely perceived as existing in abstraction's past. "Well what else is happening there?"

> Toronto wants to know. Vancouver wants to know. How to explain that the Edmonton Art Gallery is still underfunded but hyperactive and increasingly unafraid to challenge preconceptions? Art isn't safe sex. Or a commodity. Time to cross the subjective battle lines drawn between good art and bad. Open dialogue.[124]

The question that remains is, open dialogue with whom? In closing this article, Muehlenbacks muses, "I'm still wondering whose eyes are on Edmonton." In June 1991, John Bentley Mays, the visual arts reviewer for the Globe and Mail, was invited to make the rounds of Edmonton studios to assess the state and status of the visual arts (remember Greenberg's dispatch out west to do the same back in 1963?). After a favourable review of the work of Douglas Haynes, Robert Scott, and Terrence Keller, he finished his article by indirectly answering Meuhlenbach's question:

> Not that anybody who lives much beyond the Edmonton city limits will ever get a firsthand look at what I'm talking about. The people who put on exhibitions of contemporary art in Canadian museums, and the country's advanced art dealers, nowadays share a consensus on what art counts, and it's not Edmonton abstraction. That leaves the Yorkville galleries, with their low ceilings and middlebrow domesticity — not exactly the kind of hard, big space needed to show the tempestuous new work of Scott, or Haynes' authoritative contemplations of the long history of art, as they deserve to be shown.[125]

During Alberta's economic boom of 1978-83, Edmonton's art community benefited the most; many new galleries opened their doors and many new artists emerged, albeit momentarily, from obscurity. The official mode of preference was New York-style abstract art. In the short history of the province, the railroad brought progress, the discovery of oil brought capitalism, capitalism brought optimism and prosperity, prosperity brought Americanization, and Americanization brought promoters of all things American, including, among others, ways to make and sell art. With modernism, local artists who fell under the spell of Greenberg's rhetoric, thought they had found an idiom that empowered them with a larger-than-life confidence commensurate with a larger-than-life environment that could make them rich in the process. Girded with American optimism, Edmonton very quickly developed the largest per capita community of abstract painters in the country. More importantly, the community also developed the conviction that they were sitting on a gold mine. In the heady decades of the 1960s and 1970s, Edmonton's artists received constant encouragement from the city's gatekeepers, told they were on the right track; that art was international, and if they persevered long enough, they would triumph — critically and financially — like their New York cousins. Just as economic realities put a quick end to Lougheed's grandiose dreams of an independent Alberta, however, they put an end to the notion of a bottomless market for art.

In some ways at least, it was a "fortunate fall." Relieved of the pressures of keeping with (emulating) New York, the reluctantly dispossessed Edmonton abstractionists began experimenting with less derivative styles. Some of them began to modify their practice by introducing such delimiting devices as drawing, to play with surface. texture, and light — devices that would have incurred the wrath of the New York gods. The Edmonton art scene seems to be full of possibilities now that Americanization is no longer a driving force. Fenton has resigned after fifteen years at the helm of the art gallery, Greenberg is rapidly aging, and though many art critics such as Karen Wiikin would like to see themselves as heirs apparent, this is not likely to happen. The realities of international capitalism have changed, as has the structure of the art market; there are no more centres such as New York, nor are peripheral regions like Alberta quite so "far out of it." We are experiencing a decentralization and diffusion; the modernist ideology that bodied progress as a simple one-way movement has been irrevocably eroded, and nowhere more than in Edmonton. Before the city could diversify its economy, the foreign capital was gone; before the newly formed middle class could consolidate its status through the purchase/patronage of art, it was decimated by unemployment and business failures; before the galleries could cash in on the tastes that they themselves had created, they were forced to close their doors.

It will be interesting to see who will be the new director at the Edmonton Art Gallery; it is safe to predict that it will be someone safe. After all, the gallery's board has vested interests in the continuation of art as a commodity, and most of them have been trained by Terry Fenton; after all, fifteen years as a director is enough time, to develop the tastes of a small group with money, time and interest to invest in the status quo. Nothing much will change at the Arts and Design Department at the university either — tenure will ensure the continuance of the status quo, and cutting of educational funds will take care of the rest. Some change might come from the Works Festival, a festival still in search of identity, an identity constantly eroded through "creative" appropriations to increase funds and attendance. Asumena, the native arts celebration, is already history — organizational and funding problems. Whatever the future holds, it is bound to be interesting and volatile as long as the university keeps graduating painters and the government continues to cut funding to the arts — maybe a new system will emerge, not unlike the one that originated in Paris in the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER 7

THE MAKING OF AN ARTISTIC CAREER

Douglas Haynes was born in 1936 in Regina, Saskatchewan. He recalls that he made a conscious decision to study drawing in third grade; a friend's brother taught him how to draw cartoons and he was totally fascinated with the process and his ability. He decided that when he grew up he wanted to study drawing, or maybe architecture, so when the time came, he enrolled at the Provincial Institute of Technology and Art in Calgary (now the Alberta College of Art), graduating in 1958 with a commercial art diploma. He says, "Once I got to art school and got into painting classes, I realized, as bad as I was, I really liked it."[1] He worked briefly as a commercial artist but very quickly realized that he "couldn't stand the people I had to work with, and so I got a job in an architect's office, thinking that's an option — and it took about a week to realize that was not an option either!" Eventually, when it was discovered that he was a graduate of an art school, he was promoted to architectural renderer (as opposed to draftsman); all the while he continued painting on his own time.

In 1960 someone showed Haynes a newspaper clipping advertising scholarships for Canadians to study in Holland. He applied, won the scholarship, and spent 1960-61 studying part-time at the Royal Academy of Art, in the Hague. Besides the obvious opportunity to study the Dutch masters, Haynes was exposed to a different social organization of artistic occupations: in Holland professional artists were getting a monthly allowance to paint, whereas Haynes in Edmonton had to keep a day job to feed his family. With or without public allowance, Haynes kept painting because he really wanted to keep painting: "You can find the way by trying to be on the dole, get grants, starve, or — I was never the romantic — I found a way by making sure I got a job that would feed me and my family, that would allow me to do what I want. Some people think that was safety, I don't. It was just a choice that I made. I want to paint and I don't want to starve my wife and kids." He became involved in a cooperative gallery where the artists and their families mounted exhibits, and sold art. He sold quite a few small pieces "for fifteen bucks a piece, and that was nice extra money."

In 1962 Russell Harper from the National Gallery of Canada was travelling across the country choosing works for the Fifth Biennial Exhibit. John McGillvray, director of the EAG, asked local artists, including Doug Haynes, to bring some work to the Edmonton Art Gallery. One of Haynes's works was sent to the Biennial: "Getting into that Biennial was a real big thing because it made me realize that I was part of the national scene. It didn't so much go to my head as to my heart, I guess." Haynes also went to the Sixth Biennial in 1964 and was appointed to an associate membership in the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts in 1968.

In 1962 something happened that would ultimately mean a lot to Doug Haynes — and to the rest of the Edmonton art community. In that year the editors of _Canadian_

Art asked Clement Greenberg to visit the prairies and report on the state of the visual arts there; he reported his findings in the Spring 1963 issue of the magazine:

> Abstract art in Edmonton, which was the first place I visited in Alberta, was more provincial than in Saskatchewan. Art in Edmonton has the benefit of a municipal supported art centre whose collection is not to be sniffed at, and whose director, John MacGillvray, is active as well as informed. And Edmonton has an artists' co-operative, the Focus Gallery. But the art being produced there seemed to me to lack the élan of art in Saskatchewan, nor did I get as vivid a sense of a coherent artists' community. Maybe this was because Edmonton is in such a rapid state of expansion. It reminded me that the abstract art showed the highest influence of New York that I had seen in prairie Canada. The pictures of Ethel Christensen and Les Graff were not only soaked in Tenth Street mannerisms, they were also brash and expressive in a Tenth Street way. This is no verdict on the potentialities of these two artists; but it does reflect very much on their taste. In Douglas Haynes' touched-up prints, I was even more surprised to see the lay-out of Adolph Gottlieb's "Burst" paintings unabashedly present (though Gottlieb's is the antipodes of Tenth Street). This lay-out was handled, all the same, with a certain felicity, that I had to conclude that Haynes had added something of his own to the idea by reducing it in size. One of the better abstract painters in Edmonton was Jean Richards, in one of whose works I was again surprised to detect Gottlieb's influence, though assimilated and almost hidden in an "imaginary landscape" which was quite unlike the "imaginary landscapes" Gottlieb himself did ten years ago.... The most professional and accomplished artist I saw in Edmonton was John B. Taylor, whose example (not style) may be responsible for the fact that most of the abstract art there stays close enough to nature to be called semifigurative.[2]

Elsewhere in the same essay, Clement Greenberg, in discussing representational painters, spoke of their treatment of the prairie:

> In Saskatoon, however, the prairie seemed into almost everything (and for an easterner like me the prairie was a far stranger sight than the "bush," which you can see in Maine and Quebec, too). The problem was how to master the

> prairie's lack of feature, and the most usual solution was to find a town on it, or a clump of trees, or a conspicuous slope.[3]

Regardless of how strange the prairie might have looked to an easterner like Greenberg, within a few years of that first visit Edmonton was to become a destination site (permanent, semi-permanent, or transitory) to many persons from Regina, New York, and London, with training stops at Calgary the ACA or Saskatoon and the Emma Lake workshops. Douglas Haynes, as mentioned, was born and raised in Regina, which in the 1960s was a hotbed of avant-garde visual arts. Although he is younger than the Regina Five, he was in contact with some of them and was aware of their artistic and political stands. In 1967 Karen Wilkin, a New Yorker, came to Edmonton and got a job teaching art history at the University of Alberta, where she remained until 1971, when she moved to the Edmonton Art Gallery as its chief curator until 1978. In 1972 another Regina native who had there met and befriended Clement Greenberg became the new director at the EAG: Terry Fenton. *How* the art of the prairies — painting and sculpture — was made known to the outside world, *how* it was rated and received, is intertwined with the careers, positions, and positionings of these three persons: Clement Greenberg, Terry Fenton, and Karen Wilkin — and the work of Douglas Haynes is no exception.

In 1969 Norman Yates, a painter and art professor at the University of Alberta, wrote in an article in *ArtsCanada* about the increased traffic of art experts descending upon the city from far-away places:

> Edmonton is becoming a rich city; it sprawls across the North Saskatchewan River and sports a skyline that seems to change monthly. This summer Air Canada offered special jet flights just to view the lights (the best view, they advertised, there is in Canada). Comparatively, it is a city innocent with clean air and tidy people. It is often regarded by visiting art entrepreneurs as trembling with unawareness eager to be seized and converted. Such zealous cultural missionaries pursue their quarry through the (awestruck) streets seemingly made with the need to perform before the abundant succulence of the indigenous tender flesh. Afterwards, less awestruck, the streets remain. Some visitors stay to exploit, but others taking in a fresh draught of space and air stay to discover what is here and attempt to contribute to development.[4]

Part of what all the newcomers discovered in Edmonton was Douglas Haynes, who continued working to support the family, selling small pieces for extra cash and exhibiting not only at the biennials, but at the Focus Gallery (1962), the Edmonton Art Gallery (1964), and the Allied Arts Centre in Calgary (1969), among other places (see appendix A for complete exhibitions list). But what sort of art was he doing? In 1969 Norman Yates wrote of Douglas Haynes:

> Doug Haynes is a maker of archetypal images which he feels are an expression of a complex self and environment. The works are richly textural and draw colour from the earth. Originally from the prairies, Haynes is tuned to the silent timelessness that one gets in the big western space. Chinese chimes in distant trees. It's a phrase he used to attempt to verbalize his feeling. Recently he stated about his work: "While formal and plastic considerations are taken into account during a procedural build-up of the paintings, and while the paintings, due to the nature of the medium, are planned, the justification of the image remains essentially intuitive, for when the image appears strangely familiar and hints at a strange entanglement of things contributing to my make-up — background, environment, experiences — and most important, still remains curiously aloof, then I feel I have come close to creating an effective image.[5]

And Virgil Hammock, who organized Haynes's 1970 solo exhibit at the EAG, wrote of his work: "Doug Haynes' only subject is the Canadian Prairie.... He has surrendered to his environment but has lost nothing in the battle. I don't want to give the idea that Doug is a backwoods regionalist or an artistic isolationist.... Doug is not an artist who is fashionable or avant garde, but he is an artist whose work will grow on you if you give it a chance. In an age where 'mind blowing' is the norm, the quiet contemplative art of Doug Haynes is a pleasure."[6] Elsewhere Hammock wrote, "[Haynes's] paintings should, if there is any justice in this world, outlive the fads that come and go in the art world and survive to take their place in Canadian art history."[7] In 1972 Karen Wilkin sent a report on the Canadian West to *Art in America*. She begins her essay by referring to an episode in Brendan Behan's play *The Quare Fellow*, where an Irishman is boasting for doing his time in an English prison, a fact that carried high political currency among Irish dissidents but only bemuses the warden, causing him to reflect on his prisoner's "national inferiority complex." Wilkin, I presume placing herself in the warden's position, wrote: "Western Canadian artists suffer from a similar complaint; already defensive about being Canadian, not American, they are doubly so about being Western. Ironically, much art produced in the prairie provinces and British Columbia is heavily influenced by New York and West Coast trends, but the current emphasis here is on Canadian content in the arts."[8] She was actually reporting on an exhibit mounted in 1971 by the Edmonton Art Gallery and subsequently toured to Calgary, Saskatoon, and Victoria. Before I report on what she had to say about Douglas Haynes's work in the exhibit, it is important that we read more about Wilkin's understanding of Canada's art world in the early 1970s:

> C.A.R., or Canadian Artists Representation, is a new and, at the moment, loosely organized artists' union. It urges galleries and museums to pay exhibition fees and to encourage local talent. Unofficially C.A.R. insists that member artists be aware of their identity as Canadians, but it admits members who are merely Canadian residents. The fact that the U.S., particularly New York, has dominated that art world for the past twenty years is resented, and has somehow been confused with economic and political considerations. One suspects that if Paris were still the centre of the art world, C.A.R. would be less nervous about outside influence.... The recent government statements urging both Canadian national awareness and multi-culturalism have done nothing to lessen the confusion, but Canadian content in the arts is the catch phrase, and a sense of identity is emerging.[9]

And the sort of identity that was emerging, at least in the Canadian West according to Karen Wilkin, was the artists' coming to terms with the environment — physical and social — of the prairie:

> The northern prairies are a unique landscape: enormous space, a brilliant sky with spectacular cloud formations, clear and slanting light. In winter, it is still more dramatic, with sparse calligraphic rows of trees against the unrelenting whiteness.... Some western artists are making use of their experiences with this environment, and their work stands quite apart from the local interpretation of the current New York idiom.[10]

She singles out Douglas Haynes and Ihor Dmytruk as successfully responding to their environment through their paintings:

> Doug Haynes' equally austere canvases seem chilled by the northern winter, thawing occasionally to suggest the bare brown landscape of early spring. Thick impasto, applied string and plaster form rich texture. The paintings are tonal: luminous white, cool gray, browns and beiges like dead grasses. Rough surfaces and bleached colours suggest things weathered and aged; the canvas is often physically split or grooved.... Texture gives way to tone, complexity to essential shape. One can only guess at what is coming.[11]

And Clyde McConnell, reviewing the same exhibit, "West '71," had this to say about the participating artists' efforts to develop an interpretation of their environment:

> It is notable that few of the artists represented in "West '71" are concerned with developing an interpretation of their environment. Without trying to project a particular value, I think this fact relates to something in the character of life in the prairies, and to a lack of intensity of communication between artists which operates independently of style — concepts. "Sobriety" represents the prevailing social state of mind, and its echoes can be noted in the work of both normative and idiosyncratic artists, usually to no advantage.[12]

McConnell found an exception, a positive one, in the work of Douglas Haynes and Ihor Dmytruk.

In the meantime, while the two easterner reviewers found the work done on the prairies, "exotic"-nice by Karen Wilkin (an American) and "exotic"-sombre by Clyde McConnell (a Canadian), art continued to be produced there and more particularly by Douglas Haynes, who in the meantime was hired by Ron Davey, then chair of the Fine Arts Department, first as a sessional and later in a tenure-track position at the University of Alberta. In 1970 he joined the faculty, and by mid-1971 he abandoned the relief methods he had used in his painting for the better part of the previous decade. He wanted to adopt "a more direct painting process, one which would allow me a more organic and freer way of working. This was unavoidable if I wished to stretch the boundaries of personal imagery and expression established to that point."[13] J. A. Forbes, who wrote the catalogue of Haynes's exhibit at the Glenbow, described the changes in his work:

> The first works in this series reveal a new concern for the totality of the painted surface. There are no longer the wounds and channels of earlier paintings. The relief, so far as it exists, is entirely the result of impasto and the symbolic circles and lines are now almost casually suggested with paint rather than built up or grouted out.... Haynes has introduced a U-shaped form near the bottom of the painting but gives it a completely different quality from the canals of earlier year which were dug into the surface.... It would be interesting to speculate on the sign itself and its possible significance, for it appears with greater or lesser prominence in the first eight paintings in the show.... The integration of colour and surface texture can be seen to best advantage in the works done late in 1973 and 1974. Through the use of celite, many of the surfaces have a tangibility and density that is rich and seductive without being overly tactile. A good example is "#2 February 1974," which has a rich warm green colour and a rough burnished surface which appears almost to be baked like a pottery glaze. This work has the quality of antiquity present in Haynes' works of past years and which is an ongoing theme in his paintings.[14]

A year after the above exhibit, Karen Wilkin wrote another essay on the prairies and the art produced there for _Canadian Forum_. Again, she began with a reference to a writer, André Malraux this time quoting from his _The Voices of Silence_: "What makes an artist is that in his youth he was more deeply moved by his visual experience of works of art than by that of the things they represent — and perhaps of Nature as a whole."[15] Regardless of whether Malraux is correct or not, Wilkin continues with the following claim about the prairie artist (always, for Wilkin, male):

> He must be able to withstand isolation and lack of encouragement from his community to a greater degree than his peers in a large urban centres; he must tolerate the indifference or at best condescension of the rest of Canada. If Malraux is right, he faces another grave problem: the small number of serious galleries in the Prairies not only makes it hard for him to exhibit his work, but makes it hard for him to see the works of art of high quality"[16]

Douglas Haynes miraculously survived intact in this rather bleak environment; his work, like that of Otto Rogers of Saskatoon, and D. T. Chester of Regina, exhibited a slyness with colour, "sombre or close-valued colour, often stressing surface or texture."[17] Haynes's work continued to be received positively through its many evolutions, but Karen Wilkin's beliefs concerning the effects of the prairie as social and physical environment in art changed abruptly and without explanation:

> Statements relating the open spaces and big skies of the Prairies to the openness and scale of Prairie artists' work are probably meaningless. Any artist is in some way affected by the time and place in which he lives, which is why French art is different from Italian art, and 17th century art different from 16th century. It seems fashionable lately to accuse Canadian abstract artists of catering to New York taste, ignoring the fact that an increasing degree of abstraction is a characteristic of the development of 20th century art. (Why abstraction should be labelled as New York and suspect, while work deriving patently from California funk should be acclaimed as grassroots regionalism, remains a mystery to me, but that is a subject for another discussions). The only common factors shared by the Prairie artists I have discussed are a desire to make major art and a willingness to take risks in their work in order to come closer to fulfilling that desire. For artists working in an environment which provides only minimal encouragement, those are impressive ambitions.[18]

A month after this statement was published, Doug Haynes had a solo exhibit at the Latitude 53 Gallery; the above statements appeared in the catalogue accompanying "*The Canadian Canvas*" exhibit, an exhibit that was initiated and sponsored by Time Canada Limited and curated regionally. Karen Wilkin curated the prairies; the Alberta painters included were Harold Feist, Douglas Haynes and Ann Clarke Darrah. From J. A. Forbes's review of the Latitude exhibit for *ArtsCanada* for we read:

> The present exhibition finds Haynes continuing with the large format, richer colour and seductive surfaces, but he has brought back a convention from his earlier paintings — the frame within a frame. In the light of this it is interesting to see his title for the show (*From the Interior*) and to read his own notes where

> he says, "The title has multiple meanings.... as well as describing the process by which the paintings are constructed, in formal terms it describes the compositional device used, the frame within a frame, or the window concept." Later he (Haynes) points out that he will accept a reading of *From the Interior* as relating to a geographical or regional concern. He makes no secret of the fact that the prairie environment, i.e., the interior, "plays an important role in terms of my response to the images created through the medium of paint...." Although Haynes acknowledges his debts to Gottlieb, Reinhart and Olitski, there is much that is regional in his work. He has never rejected the environment as a factor in his development and, although he is not a referential as is, for example, Otto Rogers of Saskatoon, at times he seems to be a prairie landscapist.[19]

Forbes went on to discuss some classical European influences on the work of Douglas Haynes, painters like Rubens and Vermeer, a fact that he thought might surprise some viewers; he reconciled these two seemingly disparate influences — the prairie geography and classical European painters really represented two aspects of "Haynes' artistic personality — on the one hand the classical ordering of space and, on the other, the lush and sensuous surface."[20] Haynes by his own admission was influenced also by Poussin, Goya, El Greco, Rembrandt, and many others to whom he was introduced, or discovered, during his transatlantic visits. But if one listens to Terry Fenton — "Painters don't necessarily observe historical processes — they usually just paint. Living amidst the art of the present and unguided by their experience of it, they try to make art of their own,"[21] — Haynes appears as deviant. One might come to believe that painters go through their present, oblivious to their art historical past but somehow critics — at least those like Fenton — are able to discern that "in Western civilization, quality has accompanied formal innovation and that ... in our century, it has belonged to abstract painting."[22] Painters are mere products of images — it takes astute critics like Fenton to discover quality and innovation.

In 1978 the Commonwealth Games were held in Edmonton, and a special exhibition was organized by the Edmonton Art Gallery and the British Council. The idea for the exhibition was suggested by Karen Wilkin, an idea that Fenton, then the director of the EAG, found provocative because as he stated in the catalogue:

> For centuries, Great Britain exerted a strong influence on Canadian art. Although that influence hasn't entirely ceased, today Canadian artists have begun to influence some artists in Great Britain. At the moment, and perhaps for the first time, parallel, interrelated traditions exist in the two countries.... The exhibition doesn't purport to be regional or democratic. It doesn't speak for Canada or for Great Britain. It speaks for certain traditions which exist today in these two countries."[23]

The art that was shown was produced in the Canadian West, Toronto, and London. Muriel Wilson, exhibition officer, Fine Arts Department of the British Council, organized and wrote about the British half of the show; Karen Wilkin did the same for the Canadian half. The introduction to her "Canadian Point of View" seemed hopeful once again: more Canadians travel, more cities are becoming ever more urban, new funding conditions and decentralization make it easier for artists to survive and thrive in isolation, "the division between English and French culture plays its part in maintaining Canada's multiplicity, as do variables of economic development and climate and geography."[24] It appears that the more civilized Canada became, the more "oddly pictorial" or "curiously animate, suggestive images" became the paintings of Canadians:

> This new pictorialism is conditioned by modern assumptions about the painting as an object with a continuous surface. These assumptions, in fact, kept the artists from producing self-indulgent notations or unresolved representations. At the same time as they are concerned with creating a personal vocabulary of images or shapes which become protagonists in obscure dramas, they are absorbed with making different kinds of marks, with producing a variety of surfaces, and with spreading elements across the canvas. No matter how complex or associative the imagery, the pictures remain disembodied and abstract."[25]

Once again Haynes was invited to participate in this exhibit (as well as a number of others in Montreal, Hamilton, and Ottawa). Of his participation Wilkin said; "Haynes has given himself up to colour, spread across eccentrically divided canvasses. His suggestive diamonds are sliced and knocked out of true, while vigorously worked paint and smaller quirky shapes, enliven the pictures."[26] After this show, Karen Wilkin left the Edmonton Art Gallery and became a freelance curator/critic/art historian working for a while in Toronto and later moving back to New York, where she continues to live and freelance. Many of her assignments bring her back to Edmonton, and always to write the catalogues for Douglas Haynes's exhibits. In 1979 she wrote an essay on the Canadian Prairies for ARTnews. In which she again discusses the first-rate art produced by prairie artists, their efforts to keep together and in touch: "Populist-isolationists claim their art is uniquely western Canadian, owing nothing to anyone. Internationalists insist on being reckoned with as artists, not as Prairie artists.... Abstract artists are frequently denounced as dominated by New York (American imperialist) taste, more particularly by Clement Greenberg."[27] Alberta, characterized by Wilkin as "an oil-rich province that boomed in 1947 and continues to attract 'immigrants' to a middle-class Kuwait,"[28] and especially

Edmonton, had been attracting young painters like Ann Clarke, Robert Scott, and Douglas Haynes, all committed to abstraction, "which detractors deplore as the result of presumed authoritarian formalism at the Edmonton Art Gallery."[29] We learn about Haynes, that he

> surprised everyone a few years ago by becoming one of the boldest and most inventive colourists in Canada. A split diamond image allows him to apply large areas of colour with a variety of surfaces, and to oppose them with centralized colours of "drawing." Haynes's admiration for Bush, Motherwell and Gottlieb comes through, usually in quotations in the stacked drawing, but Haynes' own personality comes through more powerfully. He is even beginning to eliminate the quotations.[30]

In the same month, February 1979 another article appeared on Haynes, by Ken Carpenter for artsmagazine; Carpenter quotes Haynes talking about his art of the mid-seventies, the same art that Wilkin spoke about in the previous excerpt. Said Haynes:

> while influences can be traced (Motherwell, Gottlieb, Miro, Bush, etc.) the prime sources are my previous work. The layout and its emphatic and emblematic quality comes from the circa 1967/68 series of split ovals; the centre forms from previous use of circles, verticals, etc. — most obviously seen perhaps in the drawing elements of some of the 1975/76 black pictures; the use of the over painting and luminosity from the series titled *"from the interior,"* which came directly from my studying of the painting methods of Rubens, etc.[31]

Carpenter found antecedents to Haynes's glazing in Rembrandt, something that Haynes agreed to; also, Carpenter found the recent paintings (those produced during the second half of 1970s) to have benefitted from Haynes's past career as an architectural renderer — in his range of colour, "since in the renderings it was appropriate for him to work with changes of value as well as line and chroma."[32] Carpenter again quotes Haynes on his preoccupations as an artist: "Painting always seems to be a series of transcending, or working through. Working from chaos to order, darkness to light, influences to assimilation, liking to understanding and — perhaps the most difficult — intellect to feeling."[33]

In 1978, Douglas Haynes had a solo exhibit at Gallery One, one of the most successful galleries in Toronto, Goldie Konopny, owner of Gallery One, recalls how she was introduced to Haynes's work:

> I think one of the first paintings that I ever saw of Doug's was from the Banff series; and I saw it reproduced in a photograph. Mr. Ken Carpenter, who is a professor at York University showed it to me, and I just fell in love with it. It was the most beautiful feeling in the world that I got out of looking at that painting. And I told Ken Carpenter, I've got to find this man who painted this painting; and so he gave me Doug's phone number, his address, and so I phoned Doug and said ... I love your work, I've got to show your work, we've got to show it here in Toronto, and I'm so excited about it. And I started representing him, showing him and that.... I bought many of Doug's paintings, and I really feel that a dealer who truly loves someone's work and is going to show their work — the bottom line is to own one. If you don't own one, I don't think that you can really say sincerely that you want to live with it, that you want someone else to live with that painting and have that same desire that you can explain or talk about to the next person.[34]

That first show was a success, and Gallery One continues to represent Douglas Haynes's work. The show was reviewed by Ken Carpenter for _Art in America_, where he wrote: "This is an art always in the service of feeling, never subordinate to considerations of technique or to formal problem-solving, and Haynes has — at the age of 42 — a new maturity that is all his own."[35] Kay Woods, writing about the same show for *artscanada*, said: "Doug Haynes already has a considerable reputation in the Prairie Province. It is surprising considering the high calibre of his work, that no Toronto gallery has exhibited it until now."[36] Doug Haynes continue to have shows/exhibits in Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Ontario as well as teaching at the university. An exhibit mounted by the Southern Alberta Art Gallery in Lethbridge in 1980 brought Karen Wilkin back from Toronto to write the catalogue. By then two years away from Edmonton, Wilkin reminisced:

> When I first arrived in western Canada in the late 60s I was introduced to the work of a young Edmonton painter named Doug Haynes. He was something of a local celebrity: a prairie boy with talent and the opportunity to develop it.... Haynes' pictures from the 60s were encrustations of thick paint, plaster, burlap, string or anything else which could add yet another texture. Drawing and colour shifts resulted from literal changes in level, as in sculptural relief, but this infected surface was kept under control by a strict centralized layout and severely restricted colour. Haynes' cool grays, browns and off-whites could suggest landscape tones, which seemed to find an instant response in his audience. In the same way, his symmetrical, cell-like enclosures, packed with tangles of string, were often received as allusions to nature, to burial and regeneration, despite Haynes' clear commitment to abstraction.... Doug Haynes seemed to hit his stride about 1977. The split diamonds and the cross pictures establish his reputation as a painter to be reckoned with, not simply as a regional phenomenon. The pattern of his evolution proves his willingness to reevaluate even his most successful work, in order to challenge himself further, and this attitude, together with his evident creative gifts, make almost certain that the promise of the "prairie boy with talent" will be richly fulfilled by the career of the mature artist.[37]

The same exhibit and Wilkin's essay were reviewed favourably by the *Lethbridge Herald*:

> In the (for once!) admirable essay by Karen Wilkin in the catalogue which accompanies the show, Haynes' artistic development is carefully laid out and considered.... In 1977, he began the series of picture from which the present show is drawn, and, as Wilkin notes in her commentary, the art of Jack Bush

> seems to have been one of the main influences behind this new mode.... While the paintings often use hot colours, the over-all impression is very cool. The repetition of the central form is somehow hypnotic and detracts from the obvious fact that there is a serious artist working through a fundamental problem.[38]

A month later, the work of Doug Haynes received an underhandedly positive review by Art Perry, the art critic for Vancouver's *Province*. The exhibit was at the Kenneth G. Heffel Gallery. The review will be presented in its totality because it is really a historical review of abstraction's route through the prairies and its reception outside Edmonton/Regina/Saskatoon as well as a review of Haynes' work:

> Canada has had only a few artists who have achieved any measurable success outside of this country. We love and care about our homegrown talents but the rest of the world couldn't care two hoots about Emily Carr, Tom Thomson or Jack Shadbolt.
>
> Yet, in the late 1950s a strange turn of events brought contemporary art's most powerful literary force — American art critic Clement Greenberg — to Toronto where he preached the wonders of the stained canvas. Greenberg called this new method "post painterly abstraction," a term that put painting in a new camp, away from the heavily painted works of abstract expressionists such as Jackson Pollock and De Kooning.
>
> Toronto artist Jack Bush believed the Greenberg credo and in short order perfected a stained canvas style to rival the best that America could offer. America liked to see its style reflected in a Canadian artist — called Bush no less — who came out of the northern woods with a promising post-painterly panache.
>
> Greenberg loved to see a regional artist like Bush following his guidelines, so the art journals soon had Bush on their pages. By following Greenberg, Bush had become one of the good ol' American boys.
>
> For Canadian artists the glorification of Jack Bush was a beacon to the They wanted to tap the Greenberg magic. For this reason the critic and his all-powerful art recipe were invited to that anomaly of the Prairies, the Emma Lake workshops. Here, on a land as flat as a stained canvas, the faithful were ready to follow the post-painterly light to inter-nationalism. Out of the bush with Bush!
>
> Well, Canadian painting has never recovered from the Greenberg-Bush rise to stardom. For some unknown reason there are more mini-Bushes (or, as we

> like to call them, Bushlettes) in Canadian art than any other style. Even though it is more than 20 years old, the post-painterly aesthetic — both in painting and in criticism — still reigns supreme in Canada.
>
> Sadly, critics and curators such as Terry Fenton, Karen Wilkin, Ken Carpenter and Andrew Hudson still carry an undying faith for the formalist lifelessness of mid-century American art. Face facts, folks: It's dead, ex, no more, gone to meet its maker. Post-painterly "phormalism" has as much to offer Canadian art as European "sofa size" paintings for $12 to $24 — *framed*!
>
> Yet the most frightening fact is that artists, too, are still stuck on the Bush dream. David Bolduc, Alex Cameron, Janet Hendershot, Ann Clarke, Paul Hutner, Carol Sutton, K. M. Graham, Judy Singer, Kenneth Lochhead, William Perehudoff, Dan Solomon, Paul Fournier — the list can go on and on, but they are all confirmed Bushlettes. They are painting in a time warp, somewhere in the ozone of lost individuality.
>
> Currently, the Kenneth G. Heffel Gallery is exhibiting the paintings of yet another Bushlette, Doug Haynes. As with all the other painters mentioned above, Haynes can paint and choose his colours with a sense of professionalism. The end products look like paintings. They look like Bush. They are inoffensive, contentless, beautiful, comfortably-scaled works that say nothing about nothing. A bit of that ozone on canvas.
>
> Douglas Haynes has reached a level of some success. Those who think about art that says "I am art" have allowed Haynes and his fellow Bushies to live comfortably in our art system. It's a pity, really.
>
> To my mind, all the Bushies, Bushlettes and Greenbergian estheticians should be given Emma Lake as their own — sort of a back-to-the-roots move. There on the peace of the prairies they can paint and praise their little formal minds off. But let them step outside Emma Lake and they can be shot for endangering one of our most prized resources — Canadian painting.[39]

In 1983 "the prairie boy with talent" went back to his hometown, Regina, with a solo exhibit at the Norman MacKenzie Art Gallery, a retrospective of his work produced in the 1980s, curators Norman Zepp and Michael Parke-Taylor wrote about the continuity and change that has always characterized Haynes's work: "Doug Haynes' entire career is the presence of an image which gives a sense of purpose, and reason for the act of painting, which keeps his work, unlike that of many of his contemporaries, from becoming a mere colourist exercise in the manipulation and application of paint."[40] During the 1980s, Haynes took his split diamond images and made them one with his canvases' edges. He would crop the canvas to fit the image — irregular "cropping" was in at that time in Edmonton. But Haynes did not stay long with the pack. He again took control of the process: he brought forward from the 1960s the oval and diamond and returned to a rectangular canvas/frames — *Little Keeper* is an example of this resolution. The oval shape acted as a container and a ground that allowed "passage" for Haynes into a reinvented cubism.

But before the passage was complete, Haynes's work was due for another detour via London, and an exhibit, "*AbstractionX4*," proposed, organized, and written about by Karen Wilkin. Three other artists were included: Harold Feist, Joseph Drapell, and Leopold Plotek. Six years after Wilkin left Edmonton we learn in the foreword to the catalogue that Karen Wilkin "had lived for a while in Edmonton," was curator at the Edmonton Art Gallery, and has had a "long standing interest in this field [abstraction]." And Karen Wilkin in her own text does not talk any more of the prairie and its talented boys, the wildness of nature and the ruggedness of character; now she talks to a different audience, away from the prairie, away from Toronto; now she is trying to make a place for herself back in New York. She opens the essay not by quoting Brendan Behan or André Malraux, but with an oblique reference to the new artists and critics of post-modernity that have by now totally dominated the art world of New York and all other major art-producing centres:

> These days it is fashionable to speak of the demise of abstract painting, to see abstraction as the exhausted offshoot of an artmoded tradition. We have come

> very nearly full circle from the days when painters purged their art of anything recognizable as an act of faith, a declaration of modernism. It now happens that even the most ham-fisted bit of representation is taken as a work of seriousness and up-to-date thinking, and recent interest in figuration among young painters is offered as evidence that abstraction has lost its strength. This is nonsense, of course. No single kind of art has a monopoly on excellence. The overwhelming question is not whether the work is figurative or abstract or anything else, but whether it is any good.[41]

The artists are written about in this essay in hierarchical order — first Drapell is discussed, then Feist of Toronto, then Haynes of Edmonton, and finally Plotek of Montreal.

> Their polyglot histories are, I suppose, some sort of testimony to Canada's much vaunted multiculturalism. Born in four different countries on two continents, trained in Canada, the U.S.A., England and the Netherlands, Drapell, Feist, Haynes and Plotek now live in widely divergent regions: French Canada, urban English-speaking Ontario (*is there any other Ontario?*) and the Prairies. It would be surprising if their work failed to reflect their internationalism and peripatetic lives: what is more surprising is that it also *reflects some regional characteristics*.(italics mine),[42]

Of the four, Haynes has been the least peripatetic — with the exception of travelling forays abroad to look at art or take part in workshops — so, one might assume, in his work we might find a bit more of the "surprising regional characteristics." Here is Wilkin on Haynes's work:

> Haynes' most recent pictures are haunted by the memory of the Cubist studio: guitars, tables, still life objects. More importantly, however, they are informed by the flux of cubist space, the pulsating, shifting planes of 1911, translated into 1880 terms. Scale is crucial to these pictures. Each of Haynes's "planes" comes out of a large gesture, a single manipulation of his materials. Unlike their Cubist antecedents, which are meticulous facsimiles of non-existent things, Haynes' planes are momentary accumulations of paints. They represent nothing but themselves, and they seem to happen as we look. Their subtle shifts in

> colour and the transparency are not illusions achieved by shading, as in Cubist pictures, but instead are the result of changes in the density of paint. This simultaneous likeness and unlikeness to their Cubist inheritance is part of the pleasure and strength of Haynes's recent paintings.[43]

In discussing Haynes's cubist paintings, Wilkin painstakingly ignores their titles, all making references to actual locations in Alberta or real persons' names: *Mercoal Swing*, *Carlisle Lady*, *Geoffrey's Oval* or *Beast*, a painting so aggressive and animate, he named it as such. In 1985 Haynes had another solo exhibit at the Edmonton Art Gallery, *Cubism Revisited: The Paintings of Douglas Haynes*, with curation and the text of the catalogue by Russell Bingham, another modernist practitioner who sees as good art, art that is "emphatically post-cubist."[44] Bingham seems amazed at the "emphatic cubism" of Haynes's work and almost apologetically writes: "Haynes' emphasis on drawing and adjustments of value in his new works seem to run at cross-currents with modern attitudes and methods and this is what at first makes them look so remarkable.... It becomes apparent after a time that these Cubist pictures aren't aberrant — or mannered either. Ultimately, they look modern — and this says something important about their originality."[45] And Liz Wylie, reviewing the same exhibit, wrote for Canadian Art: "But it would be misleading to suggest Haynes is doing pastiches of cubist paintings: these recent abstracts only echo some cubists concerns, they don't replicate the works. Haynes' new pictures are quirky but startlingly successful.... The unique qualities of these new paintings set Haynes apart from his Edmonton peers, as does his profound understanding of the artistic process."[46] And Haynes, interviewed by Phylis Matousek for the Edmonton Journal, said, "I don't think of myself as a cubist — but cubism has been an influence."[47] In an article published in the Update subsequent to his cubist exhibit, Haynes wrote of influences and inspirations from art and artists of the past:

> The artists that become favourites are the ones that inspire me to get into the studio and start painting — to compete. Other artists, such as Titian, I hold in awe, but not as personal favourites because they do not give me that sense of urgency and excitement to get to work — yet. I say yet, because I never know who will speak to me next. I have found over the years that whenever the opportunity is presented to visit some of the great museums and see works in any sort of depth, there will always be someone new waiting for me. The masters of the past just seem to wait until I am ready for them; then they reach out and shake me by the collar. Most often artists that do this are unexpected; artists that I never thought I particularly even liked, let alone admired. This past spring, while visiting some of the famous museums, I found what may well be my biggest surprise of all — Poussin. Poussin had always seemed removed from any concerns or ambitions I might have had.... Poussin would turn a picture just a little inside out, often by putting some of the brightest spots in the furthest part of the picture and wrenching them into interesting shapes, such as a bit of sky seen through trees or buildings, while at the same time overpainting the figures in the foreground with a predominant colour from the middle ground. This produced a tension between foreground and background that on an abstract level produced flat, even quirky, colour shapes or figures on a somewhat neutral ground.... When I visited the Prado Museum in Madrid, I was particularly drawn to a painting by Velásquez, *The Cardinal Infante Do Fernando as a Hunter*, and the way in which it was painted, the way the paint itself held the surface so taut. Again, the painting looked so fresh, as if it had just been finished, and I felt as though I were in the studio, chuckling at the way Velásquez used gobs of white paint, thinly disguised as clouds or rocks, to physically hold the black shapes in the picture. I understood so clearly as a painter what Velásquez was thinking when he laid in those whites, that for a short while the three-hundred-year time span simply vanished, and I was in the company of a colleague.[48]

After the "cubist experiment," Haynes continued to change as a painter and continued to be shown in solo or group exhibits in Alberta, throughout Canada, and abroad — in London, at the Alberta House, in the spring of 1988, that exhibit, *Douglas Haynes: Recent Paintings*, toured to Edmonton and Calgary. The text for the catalogue was written by Peggy McDougall organizer of the exhibit. She writes:

> Douglas Haynes is a painter [who] has produced consistently strong work for many years. His confidence allows him to trust in his process as an artist and his process demands that he explore. Haynes' paintings are a skilful blend of his knowledge of art history, his desire to find his own solutions and his ability to break new ground. Haynes often borrows from art history in terms of colour or themes or action, yet produces work different from anything painted then or now. He alludes to dances and battles, candies and stories, honky tonks and jives; but whatever the matric, his paintings savour of his experience.[49]

In another of Haynes's visits to Europe, and specifically to the Toledo Cathedral, Spain, he became attached to and fascinated by El Greco's *El Espolio* (the disrobing of Christ) and *Los Apostolados* (the portraits of Christ's apostles). He says about that encounter:

> The reaction to El Greco was certainly not for a reason of looking for an idea, nor for the use of a style, nor was it appropriation. It was the recognition that concerns I had for a long time, combined with all the explorations, technical and formal, found a forebear in El Greco. He had patiently been waiting for me to catch up.... My gravitation toward Poussin and El Greco is a reflection of my needs. They point the way along a path that I am already on. I didn't go looking for them. They found me and hollered to me from across the room, and time for that matter. It is not a case of a programmed plan of development, but rather a response to a feeling of what I seem to be searching for, both in form and content.[50]

He improvised around *El Espolio* during an Emma Lake workshop, and upon his return from Saskatoon realized the enormity of his project, the time that it would take to visit at length with El Greco, so he decided to apply for a McCalla Professorship at the University of Alberta — recipients get a year's leave from teaching duties with pay in order to pursue a research project of their choice. The competition is university wide and the proposals are juried by an interdisciplinary Committee. Douglas Haynes became a recipient in 1988 and retired to his studio to work on The *Toledo Series*, which was exhibited at the Edmonton Art Gallery three years later, 6 April - 16 June 1991. His project proposal was as follows:

> Background:
>
> During the summer of 1988, while attending the University of Saskatchewan Artist's Workshop at Emma Lake, I began to explore a new direction for large scale acrylic on canvas paintings. These new pictures were loosely based on a painting by el Greco titled *El Espolio* (the Disrobing of Christ) which hangs in the Sacristy of the Cathedral of Toledo, in Toledo, Spain. The pictures completed at Emma Lake are each of the approximate dimensions of 78 inches by 48 inches. They are simple in composition and exploit the transparent qualities of a gel medium, the translucent nature of new pigments called interference colors and the dry and opaque qualities of dense pigments stained into unprimed canvas. The pictures, which are totally abstract, feature a centralized transparent pure red surrounded by passages of varying translucency and opacity, along with dramatic shifts in lights and darks. The most successful ones evoke the sense of drama and intensity of the religious pictures of the late 16th century and 17th Century Spain. While each painting is complete in itself, and some have been exhibited independently, when seen as a group they project a greater sense of power and suggest that a coherent series should be developed.
>
> The Project:
>
> Based on the experience of these Emma Lake paintings, and to follow up and make full use of the manner in which the pictures relate to each other and become units of a larger work, I plan to embark on the production of a tightly knit thematic group of thirteen paintings.
>
> To provide and maintain a focus throughout the series, the group of pictures will again be based on the work of El Greco, this time the marvellous *Apostle Series*, also in the Cathedral of Toledo. This series of El Greco's consists of thirteen three quarter length portraits, one each of Christ and the Twelve Apostles. The paintings are all of the dimensions of 39" x 30," and similar to "*El Espolio*" each painting is distinguished by a dominating centralized color.

> To achieve the presence required of each work and to provide a feeling of a portrait, but in a purely abstract way, the paintings will have to be of life size or slightly larger, in the range of 68" x 40," to 80" x 55." As in the El Greco portraits, and as the paintings I produced at Emma Lake, the works will each be built around one dominant color.[51]

Karen Wilkin once again wrote the essay for the catalogue, and although she found Haynes' inspiration/discovery in El Greco "quite improbable," she reminds the viewer that in the past Haynes was usually inspired by "less overtly expressionism than that of El Greco. Adolph Gottlieb has been one of his heroes."[52] In an effort to legitimate this improbable fascination, she tells an anecdote about Jack Bush: "Bush, after his first European trip, spoke of how impressed he was by Matisse's work, especially by the late, monumental *papier coupés.* What he really wanted to do in his own work, he said, was 'hit Matisse's ball out of the park.' (The friend to whom he confided this told him, 'Go ahead, Matisse won't mind at all.')"[53] Having secured Haynes's "correct" genealogy within modernism, Wilkin continued to place him in the "correct" art critical category:

> These days, many artists lean increasingly on their predecessors, but their relation to their chosen archetype is quite different than Van Gogh's — say — to Delacroix. In 1991, a description of a project like Haynes' *Toledo Series* could lead us to expect that El Greco's imagery had been used as a springboard for ironic improvisation or that it had been fragmented and forced into new, improbable contexts. Some artists of the 1980s or 1980s might have quoted *Los Apostolados* verbatim, analyzed them for political, sociological, or sexual subtexts, or reduced *El Espolio* to a schematic quantification. But Haynes has neither swallowed whole the works he found so fascinating in the sacristy of the Toledo Cathedral, nor has he subjected them to a modish deconstruction, parody, or simulation. Neither has he rendered a traditional act of homage to a chosen exemplar. Peculiar as the notion may sound, he seems instead to have striven to acknowledge some sort of kinship with El Greco. I described Haynes' prolonged involvement with his Toledo Series as a commentary on El

> Greco's paintings; it would be truer to have called it an extended, albeit imagined, dialogue with the Spanish Mannerist.[54]

In the rest of the essay we get more discussion aimed actually at the readers of Karen Wilkin's The New Criterion; she must expunge any emotional/existential aspects from Haynes's paintings, his past or present. The main text is really an apology to them for writing about a painter who might have aspirations that are not purely modernist:

> Rather, they (*The Toledo Series* paintings) are new inventions that aspire to achieve the emotional impact of earlier art within the formal and technical language of the late twentieth century. These pictures bear eloquent witness to the history of their making. They are, after all, not depictions of imagined persons or events, but material objects whose meaning resides in inflections of surface, clashes and accords of color, tensions between parts. The physical character of each block — its transparency or opacity, its color and relative size, its four-squareness or deformation — helps to create the sense of personality and animation that dominates each canvas, not any presumed echo of one of El Greco's images of high drama.[55]

In the same essay, Wilkin quotes, an excerpt from a letter to Harold Feist from Haynes where he describes his encounter with El Greco's works at the Prado Museum in Madrid:

> There is very little reference to the real world, no buildings or vista-like landscape stretching out behind and across. Hence you don't feel you are looking at a cropped event from the real world, but rather at a dream-like abstracted world complete unto itself. The pictures really are remarkable. Most of the space described is the negative space, such as that described between the outstretched hands of one of the figures, as though he was holding an invisible balloon, or the space captured between the wings of the angels. At times, the clouds are like rocks and the figures like wraiths, a curious turning of things inside out that keeps the whole space forever turning back on itself.[56]

And in case this statement of Haynes's reminds one of Wilkin's earlier description of *The Toledo Series* as "after all, not depictions of imagined persons or events, but material objects whose meaning resides in inflections of surface," she states right after Haynes's quoted statement: "Substitute 'color blocks' or 'planes' for 'figures' or 'clouds' and you have a useful description of how Haynes' apostle pictures function."[57] Later on in the same essay she writes, "It is as if Haynes had found a way of making visible the excitement he felt when making his pictures, substituting the exhilaration, doubt, puzzlement, and pleasure of the act of making art for the religious dogma of El Greco's day. Haynes' *Toledo Series* can be read as a modern day pantheon, an apostolados of the act of painting."[58] Following on this statement, the final paragraph goes to Haynes, who presumably describes this modern-day pantheon: "I find myself reaching to pictures like Titian's and El Greco's as if they are angels revisiting, messengers bearing truth, virtue, and equality — what painting can be."[59] A summary of this most contradictory essay, or the moral of this story, would be: you can take the prairie boy out of the prairie, but you cannot take the prairie out of the boy. Later in the same catalogue there is a commentary by Harold Feist, a long-time friend of Douglas Haynes, a successful painter in his own right who lives in Toronto, and an artist about whose exhibits Karen Wilkin is also summoned back to Canada to write. Here is an excerpt of his writing on *The Toledo Series*:

> In the case of this series of paintings we can look at El Greco as the liberating constraint and source of Doug's inspiration: the "thumb" he wants to be under. Is it arrogance to follow after a master, trying to do something of the kind? Any work of art requires something akin to arrogance on the part of the artist since it is made within a tradition and, therefore, has to fly in the face of the

> best that has been produced. Without arrogance, ignorance, foolhardiness, or simple bravery, who could expect to accomplish anything at all in such an area? All artists must come to terms with this and most must be pitied for it. The wise thing to do would be not to try, but to live a life content with looking at all the magic that has been brought into the world by those before us, and leave it at that — and to just enjoy the experience of all of it. But some see, then want to *do*, or are compelled to do — and to do it as well as they have seen it done. The odds against aiming at that level are overwhelming, but still they (we) try. Is it courage? More boneheadedness, probably. The thicker the bone the safer the brain inside? Not if most of the battering is self-induced, the brain concussing around inside the skull through doubts, fears, reality. The person vs. the artists. The first: flesh and bones; the second: an ideal — the "I." These don't always live well together inside one head. Doug's paintings are in homage to an old master but are, as well, a reiteration of pictorial devices and concerns — narrative, figuration, angels — that have not, so far as I know, been dealt with in such a head-on manner and to a such great extent as in *The Toledo Series*. This kind of *intent* is new to abstraction. It is a hybrid of non-objective painting and the kind of painting that makes use of subject matter. Shapes flutter and dance as if they are putty or angels or ascending and floating figures in a shallow, dished-in space — within a stage set or niche in the wall. there is a richness and intensity of colour, and a deeper, more sonorous surface than there was before in Doug's work. The same hand is there, but has more of a Midas touch now — opulent, sensuous. Doug has managed to tap into a new resonance by following the lead of this experience of looking at El Greco, *his* El Greco. That is, finally, what we are looking at — *his* vision.[60]

I have traced Douglas Haynes's career as a painter by framing it within Pierre Bourdieu's account of the artistic field of painting, paying particular attention to Haynes's strategies for producing works for artistic legitimation within the field of painting in Edmonton — a historically generated field — and the gatekeeping obstacles he had to negotiate — obstacles that the field itself has created in order to facilitate the reception and legitimation of paintings.

Haynes's artistic habitus can be characterised as a restless exploration of the received art of the past, tempered by the improvisational (polythetic) practices of a "prairie boy":

> *What is art*? Every time I am asked this question, I always have to start talking to hear myself, to hear what I am saying, to make some sense and it is never quite the same approach whenever I am asked the question. I suppose as trite as it sounds, it is an expression of humanity. And I don't mean a story about or description, but an expression. It expresses our humanness. And that means our feelings, and our hopes and our fears, our joys and our optimism, our pessimism, but all at once, not going to paint pictures about our pessimism. That can get too specific and too narrative. I guess I feel that way because that is the way I react to the past. When I go and look at an El Greco, or a Velásquez or a Goya, I really feel like I am standing in front of a real full person. A really full blown character standing there.
>
> *On modernism*: I am not sure if modernism will last because first of all, I don't know when it began. And I don't know how Greenberg and other people can say, It started on February the 13th, or when a man painted a picture.' I don't accept this sort of reasoning because that is what critics notice on what painters have done. Greenberg is someone I have great admiration for, but he was given too much credit.[61]
>
> *On abstract expressionists*: I realize that they fought to cut off all ties with old art; now as one of their grandchildren I have fallen in love with what they were doing and I am looking further back. I want to circumvent the link as it were. I want to go back.[62]
>
> *On patronage*: This El Greco project has made me think a lot about patrons and commissions.... I am very fortunate [to] have the best patron around these days — the university. I am fortunate enough to sell enough work to pay all my art bills, my studio, I don't have to subsidize my art.[63]
>
> *On the art buying public*: Art is hard to sell, and who needs it? People are just as happy with a poster. I can't get on my high horse and criticize them for that because I am not going home dying to get out the CD and listen to some really serious classical music, or new music, I am happy with banjo music, so I can't criticize someone who is happy with a poster. They don't need this — I need to do it.[64]

The painting style of Douglas Haynes has undergone quite a few transformations (see Plates 1 - 7), but regardless of the transformations it has been received favourably by various legitimators of the art world of Edmonton and abroad. Haynes has been exhibited, recognized and written about more than any other painter from Edmonton's art world of painting, from Clement Greenberg's underhanded support ("felicitous appropriation of Gottlieb") to Karen Wilkin's initial disappointing reaction:

> The first artist whose work I was introduced to was Doug Haynes and at that time, I thought he was a very competent craftsman-like painter. I was convinced he was never going to go anywhere. Those works were reliefs — he was collaging onto the canvas — they were plaster, symmetrical, very competent, very, very boring. But I had enormous respect for him as a person, as a thinker and was convinced he was never going to be an earthshaking artist, and then about 1974, those split diamonds happened and there has been no looking back,[65]

to Virgil Hammock's 1970 prophetic remark," [Douglas Haynes's] paintings should, if there is any justice in this world, outlive the fads that come and go in the art world and survive to take their place in Canadian art history.[66]

Even though he has received a lot of favourable notice, there has been variation in the writing: Norman Yates, J. A. Forbes, Ken Carpenter, Virgil Hammock, Harold Feist, and Peggy McDougall have written about Haynes differently from Karen Wilkin, Terry Fenton, Russell Bingham, and, say, Lelde Muehlenbachs, who opened her review of *The Toledo Series* this way: "Although some may claim that as a series, Absolut Vodka ads display more invention and contemporary meaning, Douglas Haynes' *The Toledo Series* has elicited its fair share of enthusiasm and pride."[67] The first group of writers/reviewers were painters and art historians and have centred Haynes's uniqueness and success on his being a westerner, a "prairie boy," whereas the second, with various degrees of abstraction, wrote about his works as if they were illustrations of their modernist aesthetic stand — devoid of any personal history. If the reader was to go back to the beginning of this chapter and reread Wilkin's telling of the story of Douglas Haynes's career, he or she would clearly see that the telling changes with the changing career of Karen Wilkin — modernism at all costs — which in turn changed with the fortunes of modernism within North America (including New York) and Europe.

In the 1960s, when it was in vogue for New Yorkers to be enthralled with the eccentric artists of Canada's West, the prairie, the isolation, the toughness of characters, both Greenberg and Wilkin recognized the prairie — as physical and social environment — as a factor in the art produced here. Wilkin did so more than Greenberg, successfully "converting" the Edmonton of her experience into an art critical capital of "distinction." When she first arrived in Edmonton, she was just beginning — first, sessional work at the university; later, curating at the EAG. The late 1960s and early 1970s were good years financially for someone to forge ahead with an aesthetic that was thought of as international, that is, modernism. But as soon as she left the EAG and Edmonton, art-talk about the prairie became "ludicrous," her associative memories of Edmonton only "fleeting"; the only thing of value for her was the work of Douglas Haynes, Harold Feist, and Ann Clarke — and her discussion of their work always from then on concerned with style, the surface. If on occasion Douglas Haynes spoke of his experience, Karen Wilkin was always there to expunge any residue of everyday life, any residue of a painter who has a habit of thinking of El Greco, Goya, or Poussin as visiting with him in his studio. Increasingly, Wilkin used Haynes's work to make a case against the new art that had taken over New York, an art that spoke of life and questioned the modernist structures and ideologies of the art world, which Wilkin, Fenton, Bingham, and company were trying against all odds to defend. One might ask, if Karen Wilkin is the person that translates Haynes's art to the rest of the art world agents, and if she is involved in what appears to be a losing battle, then how come Doug Haynes's work keeps being shown, enjoyed, and bought? If references to specific locations and particular persons have lost their currency in the artistic capital exchanges of abstract expressionism, post-modern re-evaluations have made the personal and the specific central to all explanation and evaluation. Douglas Haynes's inherited artistic disposition does not begin with Matisse and end with Jack Bush; it goes further back and is always tempered by his prairie roots. The "prairie" has been the clearing house, the unconscious and subversive source of his success.

If we were to "do a Bourdieu" on Karen Wilkin, following Bourdieu's discussion of honour (substitute "prairie") in the society of Kabyle in his *Outline of a Theory of Practice*,[68] Wilkin would be the foreign observer who can see the prairie only in abstract terms/rhetorical terms and (as Bourdieu would claim) not as "a disposition inculpated in the earliest years of life and constantly reinforced by calls to order from the group, that is to say, how the aggregate of individuals endowed with the same dispositions, to whom each is linked by his dispositions and interests."[69] He later describes those inherited dispositions as

> "embedded in the agents' very bodies in the form of mental dispositions, schemes of perception and thought, extremely general in their application, such as those which divide up the world in accordance with the appositions between the male and female, east and west, future and past, top and bottom, right and left, etc., and also, at a deeper level, in the form of bodily postures and stances, ways of standing, sitting, looking, speaking, or walking.[70]

At this point one might object that my account of Bourdieu's inherited disposition applied to Douglas Haynes's work imposes an explanation that is tenuous at best; but there is enough Canadian literature to substantiate the prairie's playing an important subversive role in the psyche of Canadians.[71] Geographer Ronald Rees has been particularly astute in analyzing the psychology of western settlement. Canadians, he writes, moved west not to escape from but to (re)establish civilization.[72] The prairie was nothing like what they had experienced before. It engulfed them in total isolation and forced them, out of fear, to recoil into what they knew best: the ways of the old world. They were physically in one world and spiritually in another.[73] In response to this disquieting situation, they immediately busied themselves clearing the land and surrounding themselves with "shelter belts" of tall trees. This was not merely to protect themselves from the harsh weather, but — almost more important — to define "their" space in the barren land. Inside the "shelter belts," houses were built and decorated, gardens planted, and rituals enacted to remind them of the life and place they had left behind. This pattern of first responses was reinforced by ongoing demographic trends. The prairie, because of its unforgiving nature and its distance from the industrial and political/cultural hub of central Canada, created small outcroppings of population, communities without much contact with each other, and inhabitants who felt inferior to the land. The precariousness of their position ensured that each new group of arrivals would inherit a defensive stance towards the landscape, uniquely Canadian.[74]

Like the first settlers, then, the first painters arrived in the West with their values preformed. Like the settlers, the only way they could assimilate the unassimilable prairie was to clutter it with "things," or to focus on the near-at-hand. In painting almost without exception, they used imported idioms; duplication of the old cultural standards made them feel less alien in their new and strange land. It was easier to ignore nature than to face it; by transforming the strange into the familiar, they were not simply taking artistic shortcuts but practising a kind of "mental self-protection."[75]

Looking back, Haynes claims that "when abstraction hit western Canada it made complete sense," because it allowed one to paint the "straightforward clarity of the prairie light."[76] His own early paintings, as we have seen, were mixed media works, almost sculptural in mood, and compositionally preoccupied with the centre of the canvas. In the 1970s, however, Haynes abandoned overt physicality; his work became less "tangled," favouring geometrical shapes such as circles, rectangles, ovals, and diamonds split into subzones by columns of colour or bare canvas. Of that time the artist says, "my mentors [were] finished with me, remaining ... as only dear and close friends."[77] In the shadow of the economic "bust" of Edmonton he moved progressively towards bolder drawing and more exuberant colours, as if telling everyone; I have finally come home! Translated, this meant that he had succeeded in cutting up the vastness of his particular given — called the prairie — into smaller, more manageable, human-sized parts. It meant that he had learned to catch the light in portions and angles that would be not blinding, but illuminating. It meant, in short, that he had begun constructing metaphorical "shelter belts," claiming his place, exercising and delimiting the illimitable space.

In the early 1980s, having worked through his *particular* obstacles, Haynes succeeded in coming to terms with the existential aspects of a particularized situation. He developed an abstraction that speaks not only of art history but of the life and history of the western prairie, with its vastness, its unnerving light, the lack of "thingness" it exhibits to the insensitive eye, the eye not trained or capable of seeing the rich surface that becomes even richer when the light strikes it a certain way — the way that Haynes has learned to catch it. His archetypal diamonds, crosses, ovals, circles, and rectangles are imaginative and metaphorical ways of coming to terms with — indeed, celebrating — this reality. Like the "shelter-belts" and "channels" used to frame the "real" prairie homestead, they serve not merely as protective devices, escape routes, but as routes to redefining the relations between self and other — easy paths to visit back and forth. Even the names of many of his paintings attest to his preoccupation with "his" landscape: *Coal spur*, *Cadomin*, *Mercoal Swing*, all names of locations in Alberta. Conventional affiliations aside, there are unmistakable tokens of place in these artists' attendance to surface, the openness of the works, the light contrasts in the foreground, their construction of metaphorical "shelter-belts" through drawing or framing. Much of this oeuvre, in fact, can be seen as providing literal homologues for the "box" in which, according to McGregor, Canadians reside: a structure of consciousness which is "paradoxically, both existential *and* arbitrary, natural *and* self-created, container *and* frame."[78]

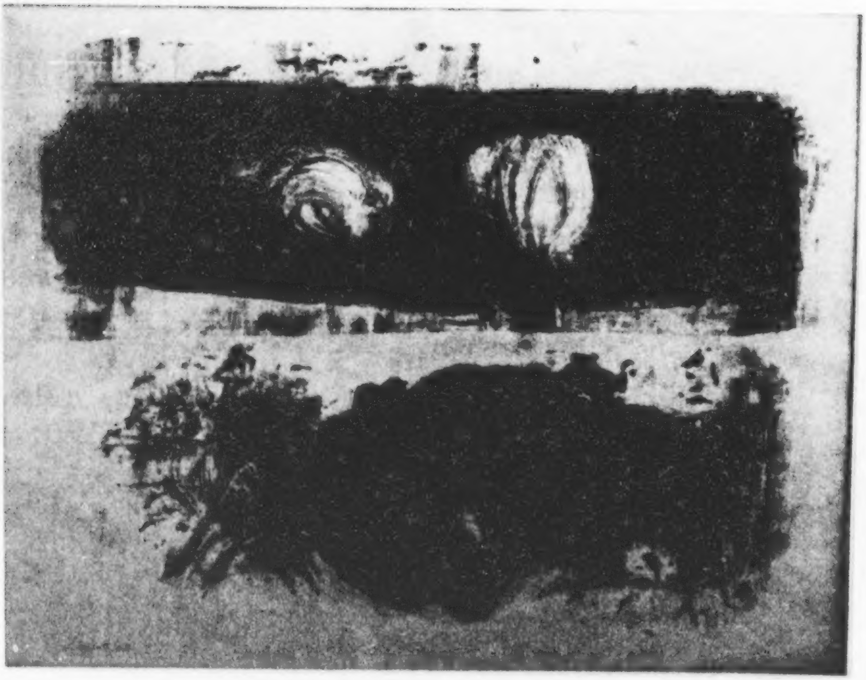


Plate 1 Untitled monoprint on rice paper, 14 ½ x 18 ½, 1962

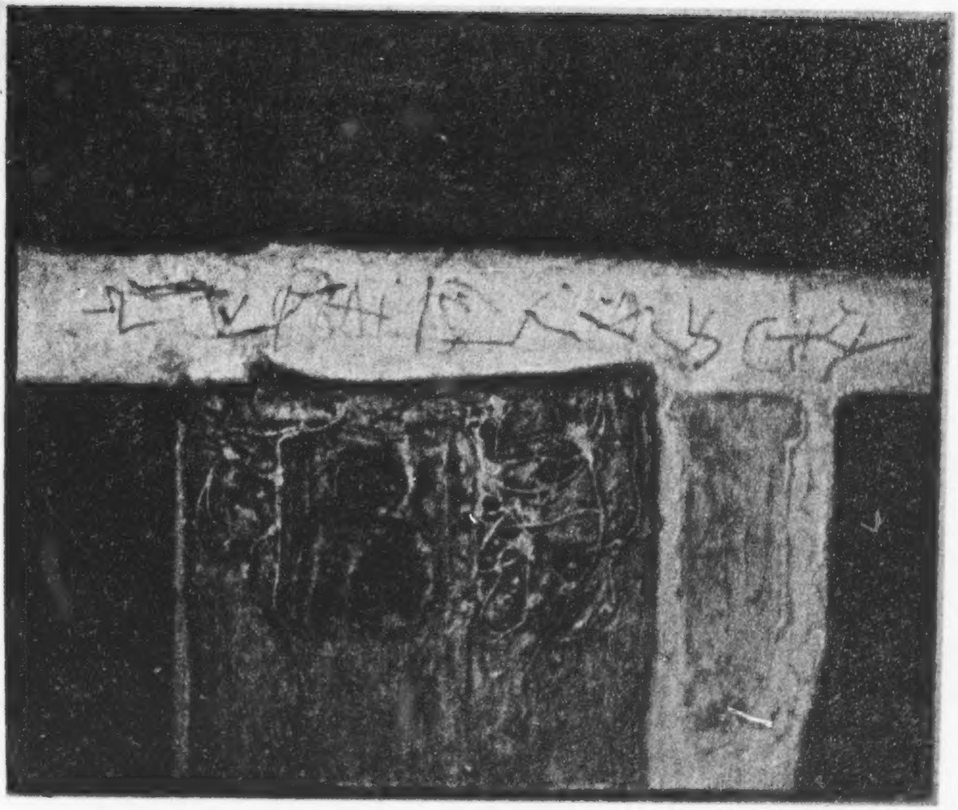


Plate 2 Untitled, 32" x 38", May 1964,
exhibited in Sixth National Gallery Biennial, 1965

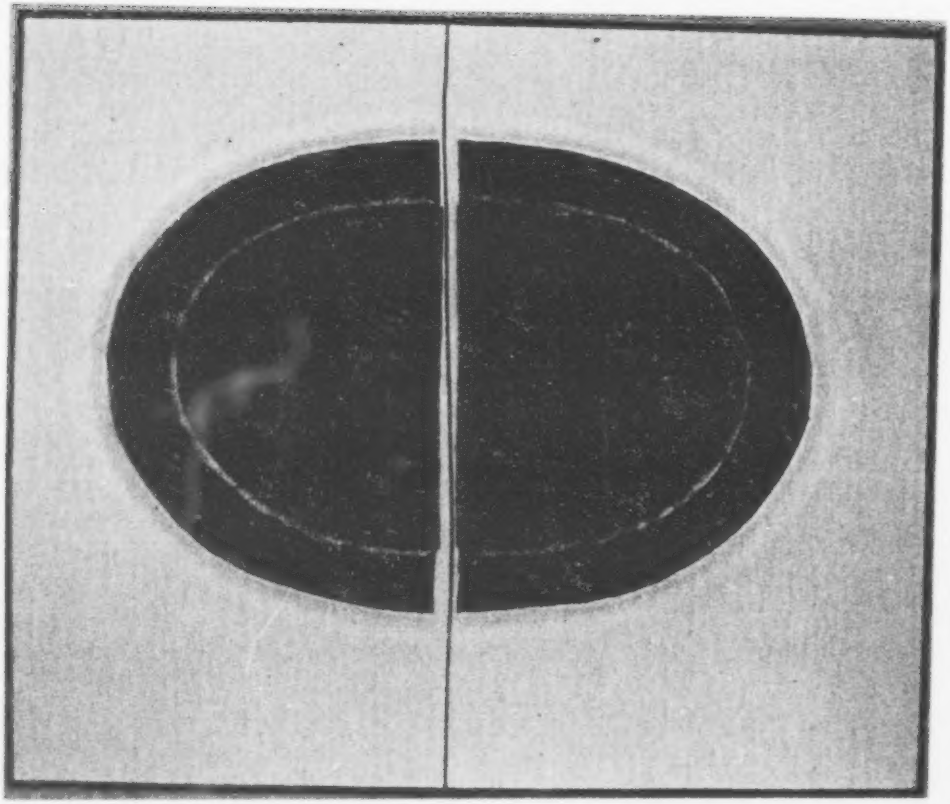


Plate 3 "#1," 44" x 48", 1969, collection of Edmonton Art Gallery

Plate 4 Untitled, September 1973, 46" x 54 ¼"

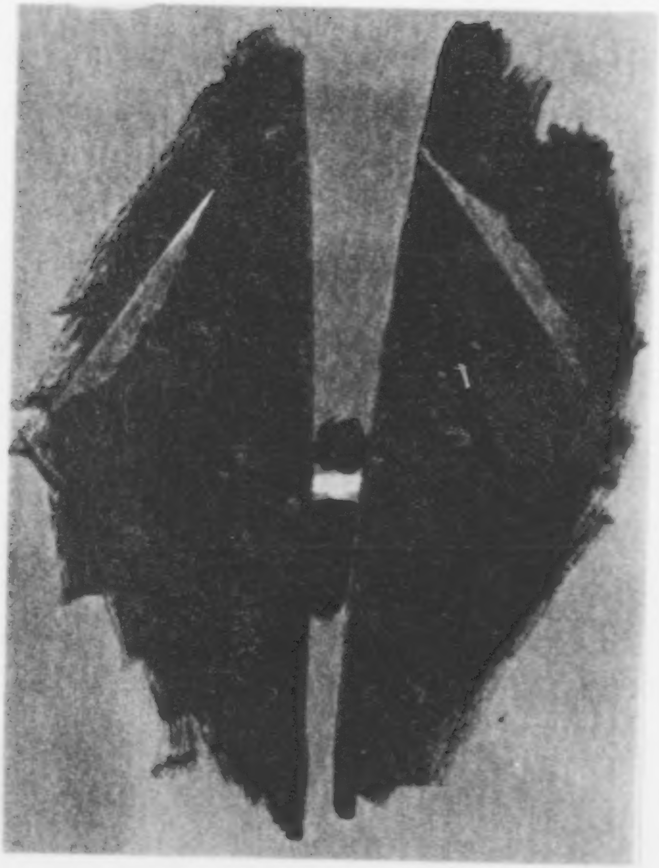


Plate 5 Banff #2," 1977, acrylic on paper, 20" x 26"

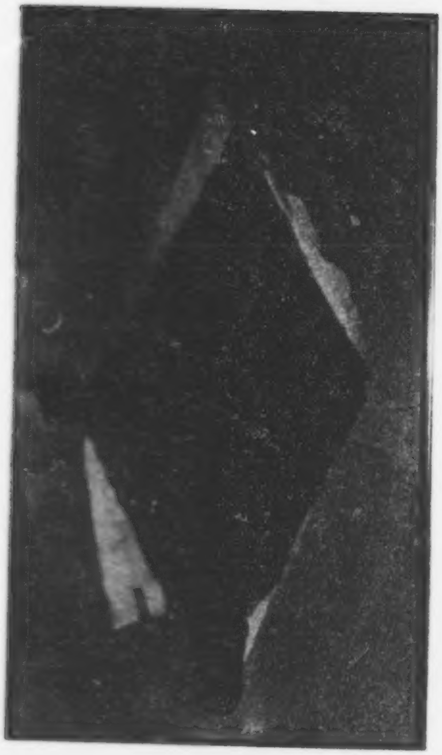


Plate 6 "Little Keeper," 1981, acrylic on canvas, 104.1 cm x 57.5 cm

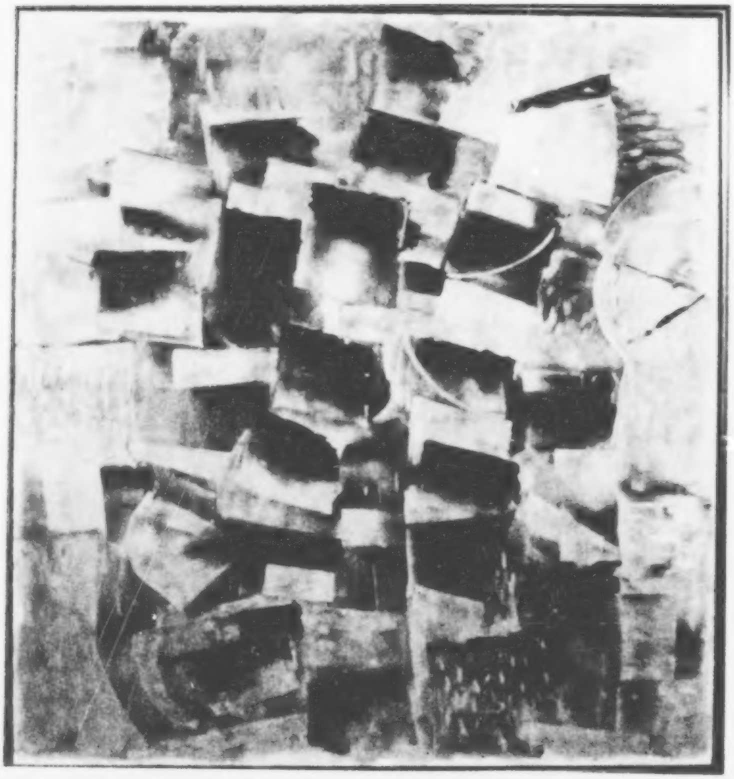


Plate 7 "Back 54," 1984, 172.1 cm x 160.3 cm

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

The general purpose of this study has been to develop a framework for the analysis of the production of artistic value; it has taken the form of a quest to uncover the covert social functions of the institutions and reinforcing ideologies of the art world. That my thesis ended up being on painting is the result of a complex series of interactions between myself, my particular gender, ethnicity, age, temperament, and disciplinary training; there is a connection between the interdisciplinarity of the thesis and my personal experience. I have deployed the first-person narrative because I want to make the point that the personal details of my experience as well as the personal details and/or agendas of the subjects of my ethnography are constitutive of the theoretical stance of this account of Edmonton's art world of painting. The structure of the thesis as well as my narrative strategies reflect my attempts to (a) construct "embodied" knowledge, and (b) experiment with rhetorical strategies that will subvert the boundedness of the discipline of sociology, that is, Bourdieu's "invention within limits."

The development of this partial account of artistic value production in Edmonton's art world of painting has been organized around Pierre Bourdieu's notions of field and habitus and screened through this observer's/researcher's/narrator's "eye/I." An artistic field of painting is a field of power, power that allows those in possession of it to secure higher degrees of symbolic (aesthetic) and economic capital. The art world of painting in Edmonton is a manifestation of the strategic choices of its agents to possess such capital, which in turn will allow them control of the status quo or enable them to change the rules of the game, whichever their interest might be. Following this overview, what the present research makes clear is that paintings do not have any intrinsic aesthetic value — aesthetic value emerges as a "subject-position" constructed and allocated within the relations of power of the art world. Aesthetics is a self-regulatory system of values deployed by the gatekeepers of the art world, who exercise their power through mechanisms of distinction/domination, such as the deployment of "good eye" to choose "good art." The "eye" of the agents is constructed within the ideological parameters of the field; the "good eye" is nothing but a reified subject position exercised by critics to dominate and control. Dealers exercise aesthetic power by suppressing the economic aspect of their position/function under the cover of other indicators, such as commitment to sell good art. "Orthodox" painters — the majority — simply follow the rules and parameters set by the dominant segment of the art world; the "heretics," such as Douglas Haynes, succeed in subverting the dominant ideology by not suppressing their practical (multiple identity) selves through the deployment of improvisational/polythetic painting techniques and style appropriation. It appears that progress in art is a result of a subversive unconscious. It remains to consider what this "case study" implies for the art world of Edmonton and for the broader field of the sociology of painting.

First the case for Edmonton's art world. This investigation is a particular case of a possible art world of painting. Its analysis is not finished, it is simply over. It is over because of external and internal restrictions/limits. External such as the meeting of deadlines and the lack of social art historical data on the art world, and internal such as my choice of research techniques, informants and theoretical path — Bourdieu's notions of ***field***, ***habitus*** and ***disposition***. Although the framework gave me the agility to do both a diachronic and synchronic investigation, the available data allowed me only a marginal recapitulation of both the historical genesis of the field, and a contemporary description of the social positions full of "gaps." I tried to compensate for the "gaps" by using varied techniques to collect the required material: observations made in the field, unstructured interviews, stories and voices collected along the way, documentary evidence from trade journals, local papers, exhibit catalogues and so on — but gaps still remain.

Originally I wanted all the data to be properly ethnographic — my observations and the stories from the field as told by my informants. That desire quickly had to be abandoned — not many of the agents of the art world were eager to talk to a sociologist in the making; and those who did talk did so in the ready-made generalities that the art worlds' participants are accustomed to. It was then that I decided to somehow "eavesdrop" in their conversations through the trade publications — knowing fully well of the problems inherent in this sort of second-hand listening. And then I tried not to give priority to any source over another and organized their write-ups in a chronological sequence as much as possible so as to let the story unfold on its own time but also in order to double-check the dynamics of the power struggles I had collected in my field notes and from personal experience. I also tried to be dialogic and include as many "authorial" voices from the news clippings by naming informants, and showing photographs. But no matter how hard I tried not to be the "privileged observer" — the final text is nothing but my monologue: I wrote and edited it in such a manner as to fullfil the requirements of ***une thèse de doctorat d'État***.

With every consecutive editing and re-reading new approaches crept up from the text, and every time my personal dialogue with Pierre Bourdieu became more precise. I can hear him cry out to me in earnest that "reflexivity is not achieved by the use of the first person" — be like me and practice "self-analysis by proxy."[1] But how can I practice self-analysis by proxy when I am not one of the peers yet? The only access *I* have to the "means of speech" is to "take the floor" and for that I must publicize *my* privacy: **"For a woman to write as a woman, she must write self-productively — that is, autobiographically — so as to create herself as a writer as she writes."**[2] [emphasis my own].

How can you miss this need to show things which existed in a repressed state, you who so eloquently spoke about the power of naming Monsieur Bourdieu?

> The power of naming, in particular of naming the unnameable, that which is still unnoticed or repressed, is a considerable power. Words, said Sartre, can wreak havoc. This is the case, for instance, when they bring into public and thus official and open existence, when they show or half-show, things, which

> existed only in an implicit, confused, or even repressed state. To represent, to bring to light, is no small task. And one can, in this sense, speak of creation.[3]

Or elsewhere in the same work:

> The power of making visible and explicit social divisions that are implicit, is the political power *par excellence*: it is the power to make groups, to manipulate the objective structure of society.[4]

You can analyze others in person and yourself by proxy, because despite your theoretical acumen, your immense empirical output and experimentation, your fields's agents's habitus — despite its dispositional agility — it is painfully genderless. If the habitus is to fullfil the enormous heuristic destiny that you have engendered it with, it must acquire gender, ethnicity, race, and personal history. And now back to the agents and institutions of Edmonton's art world of painting.

Bourdieu's view of the social world on a multi-dimensional space, with many inter-related fields and each field populated by agents and institutions, each one carrying different types of capital to secure a better positioning within the field or even transform it all together, has been proven a very fruitful heuristic tool. The picture of the art world that comes to the fore is not one that takes an agent or an object from point a to point b, but one that uncovers the struggles and discloses the contradictions that a field of power curtails. Specifically, Bourdieu's discussion of the specific logic of the artistic field, in the field's agents refusal to recognize the social and economic bases of art along with their "naturalizing" the artistic genius of the artist and the pleasure of the beholder, opened up our understanding of art worlds as dominated fields, each with its own dominant and dominated factions which not only results in unequal distribution of capital, but also creates a relational field that keeps the dominated complicitly in their own domination.

From the historical genesis of the artistic field in the Quattrocento and its eventual autonomy in the second half of the nineteenth century, the agents of the art world have been concealing from themselves and from those outside the art world the social and economic bases from which they draw their capital by pretending that the "learned" pleasure received from "high" art is a "natural" pleasure uncontaminated by issues of everyday life:

> In as much as this field, particularly in its most autonomous sectors, defines itself by eschewing or inverting the rules and regularities that constitute the economic field, one can say that the interest promoted by this field is an interest in disinterestedness (in the ordinary sense of the term), that is to say, an interest which proves irreducible to economic interest in its ordinary sense. This economically disinterested interest remains none the less an interest, and one which can enter into conflict or competition with others as well as determine actions as strictly interested, many egoistic, as those of which the economic field is the site.[5]

On the basis of the above denial and over the course of many years, the artistic field evolved as a site of constant struggles, a social space of positions occupied by agents whose capital prevailed at different times, and whose specific actions are the result of a habitus engendered within the objective structures of the same field. The portability, durability and fruitfulness of this notion of an artistic field can be demonstrated by explaining the ways that "high" art came to Edmonton, how the field was constructed and how its agents at times succeeded in carrying the capital that counts.

Early on, the engineer/soldiers painter who came to Edmonton directly or via Calgary, brought with them unsophisticated painting techniques of rendering the environment as "picturesque" as possible. They did not bring with them sophisticated theories of art and all were welcome to paint, exhibit and sell; there were no turfs to protect, only pictures without history.

Slowly as Edmonton grew, it proved a fertile ground for new ideas. Its geographic isolation, economic marginality and short history made its citizens look elsewhere for approval and legitimation; first England, later New York, by invitation. The Americans came in with Clement Greenberg and their staying power proved formidable. Greenberg came west because *Canadian Art* paid him to survey the Prairies; Karen Wilkin came because she married a local man and decided to stay even after her divorce; Terry Fenton, although from Regina, could put any New Yorker to shame with his total commitment to formalist art and modernist beliefs of art ownership and appreciation. In the late sixties and early seventies when the economy was on an upswing and the university expanding, the hiring at the School of Fine Arts resulted in mostly British painters once again but with most of them imbued with New York formalism. What everyone was able to ignore in the splendid isolation a Prairie city can afford was the fact that Greenbergian formalism was well into the margins of New York's art world. Greenberg et. al. were able to convert their diminishing capital from New York into big investment in Edmonton. Because the positions that counted in Edmonton's art world were taken by formalists, abstraction because quickly the currency that counted. But as Bourdieu's schema allows us to see, when there are dominant factions, there must also be ones dominated. We've seen how their rumblings from time to time in the local papers were quieted down by the formalist forces, forces that were quickly rallied by the galleries that had international or avante-garde aspirations. Edmonton was quickly becoming an almost completed art world with its museums, galleries, fine art schools, writers, critics, and brokers, but it never had an audience of buyers, a detail that was missed by almost everybody. All the agents who had come to occupy positions in this world were well inculcated into the logic of its existence. Yet somehow they failed to see that Edmonton lacked the segments of a population that required attainment of a distinct status through cultural legitimation; Edmonton was and is a city of middle managers and blue collar workers. And we have already seen what happened to the galleries that catered to those in the know — they have gone out of business.

The same lack of ability or willingness to accept the economically interested basis of art transactions can be seen in the way artists speak about their art: most of them pronounce that money plays no role in their commitment to paint, a commitment that stems from their inner being. And while they tell a willing audience this, behind closed doors they demand higher prices from dealers, color-reproduction for their invitations, good wines served at openings, etc., and if their demands are not met, they go to another gallery where "their work is appreciated." Or, most of them will fail to say that there is a spouse or mate in the background quietly taking care of everyday business for them. So they raise the prices on their paintings — having compared their work with artists whom they see as their counterparts in Toronto, New York and London, and keep complaining. In the meantime, the Fine arts Department sends into an already overcrowded market new graduates every year. They show their work in group shows and alternative artist/run places, complaining how "dated" their predecessors work is, until some of them are picked up by a mainstream commercial gallery; they go to each others openings and complain that the dealers are not "doing" what it takes to sell their work. But not for a moment do they see that the only participants left to the rituals of the art world are themselves and other "on lookers," and that the only regular buyers are the two levels of government — federal through the Art Bank and provincial through the Alberta Foundation for the Arts. Another season, another avant-garde appropriated; life goes on in "Fentonia." This active complicity to the hierarchical relations of the art world, where artists, writers and intellectuals are

> A dominated fraction of the dominant class... but writers and artists are dominated in their relations with those who hold political and economic power... the domination takes the form of a structural power exercised through very general mechanisms, such as those of the market. This contradictory position of dominant —dominated explains the ambiguity of the positions they adopt, an ambiguity which is linked to this precariously balanced position.[6]

Following Bourdieu we see how the art world controls its own reproduction by remaining silent on the contradictions, ambiguities and precariousness of its affairs, a silence that is "self-seeking because it is what makes it possible to legitimize a social privilege by pretending that it is a gift of nature."[7] This self-seeking silence can best be "heard" during the asking of monies from governments or in the underhanded discussions of "good eye", "good art" and the put-down of the philistine bourgeoisie for its crude likings.

That this "silence" is not part of a conspiracy to "dupe" the public but is a habitus generative of perceptions and practices taught and never questioned or made explicit can be seen in the positionings of Elizabeth Kidd and Roger Boulet in order to be more inclusive. Soon after Terry Fenton's departure both, through their choice of statements and actions, tried to question — if not right out reject — the aesthetic status quo. They showed art as far from formalism as possible, they organized or participated in "politically correct" discussions of gender, ethnicity, post-modernity and the crowning effort of staging the *Dangerous Goods* exhibit, only to bring the ire of the board, the public and anyone not part of the small feminist intellectual faction in the city. With a sigh of relief, the EAG Board weathered the complaints of the formalists, along with the revolutionary zeal of the feminists and continued its role to collect funds from an ever decreasing pool of money for the next acquisition. This too shall pass. If Kidd and her curators could correctly place themselves in the dominated faction of a dominated art world, they could have seen that after the initial shock, their efforts would have left their shock value and become appropriated by the institution that has an unlimited capacity to appropriate all acts of deviance.

Bourdieu in his discussions of the artistic field makes it abundantly clear that however well intended political outbursts against the system might be, they are bound to fail as long as the system remains intact. Another instance where we see the system continuing its march is the publication of a three part rambling interview with Clement Greenberg — after all the feminist/postmodernist interventions. What was the point of it? No real change in the structure and/or capital that counts will change in Edmonton's art world of painting until the mechanisms of its reproduction are changed first, for the system has the upper hand. That can be seen in Roger Boulet's resignation, the gallery's exhibiting of Ukrainian religious art and W. L. Stevenson landscapes. Those who have become "good players" of the field, those who do at any moment what the game "requires" like Karen Wilkin, manage to convert their capital to the currency of the day: first for her was New York that carried the day in the Prairies, later the Prairies that carried the day back in New York. And there are those like Douglas Haynes who against the grain, pay thanks so their patrons — the state via a university position — for freeing him from the very real burden of the everyday life in order to stand in opposition to the classical tradition of abstraction of "flatness at all costs" and develop a personal style particular to his prairie roots and temperament. Or the dealer who publicly admits that if a dealer is to "swim upstream" then she/he must accept the need to pay the bills through the sale of art of questionable artistic value. But neither Haynes's nor one dealer's intuitive grasp of the contradictions can bring about changes in the system.

It remains to consider what this "case study" implies for the broader field of the sociology of painting. Studying painting as if it "arose" in a social vacuum may allow one to create a neatly packaged product; as has become increasingly clear, however, it does a great disservice to the artists, their work and their audiences. On the other hand reducing works to simple epiphenomena of an economic base without reference to the world-view of the producing community is equally inadequate. A painting is, in fact, always *multiply* motivated/engendered. Exhaustible in terms of neither social structure nor style, it is grounded firmly in the experiences of its maker and legitimators. The latter, on the other hand, are just as firmly grounded in history, personal as well as art historical. Far from being modernism's willful individualist, an artist, simply by virtue of his/her participation in the social, cannot help but function as a locus of mediation between dispositions, aesthetic codes, ideological constructions, and social and material processes and institutions. To explain art, then, we must consider not merely the institutional story but all the other stories as well. For that to happen Bourdieu's treatment of the artistic field must be opened up first: his "***habitus***" must acquire gender, his agents personal histories, and his deafening silence on the role of the state as the final arbiter of all capital and creator of value, must come to an end. Especially in the case of Edmonton's art world — as well as elsewhere in Canada — where (a) the state is the sole patron (for all practical purposes) in the visual art worlds, (b) the socio-historical data is non-existent and (c) the majority of the gatekeepers are women actively participating in their own domination/marginalization.

The present study is intended as a contribution to the developing literature in cultural studies within which issues of the body and the unconscious have long been part of the discourse. In contrast to other sociological studies of art, which have tended to remain within the narrative constraints of the discipline, the present study's key methodological strategy has been to read authors against each other — Wolff against Becker — and with each other — Bourdieu with Castoriadis and Elias — setting up a dialogue among them in order to reread, rewrite, retell their stories, shift the relations, and in the process make room for movement within, around, and across the discipline. Thus, a new space is created wherein the preconditions of knowledge and symbolic order will be the body and the unconscious. This is only a first step, and like all first steps it is tentative.

NOTES

Chapter 1: Introduction

1. P. Bourdieu, quoted in Derek Robbins, *The Work of Pierre Bourdieu*, Boulder, Westview, 1991, p. 4.
2. J. Wolff, (1981, 1983, 1991); V. Zolberg (1990).
3. D. Smith, *The Everyday World as Problematic: A Feminist Sociology*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1987.
4. J. Clifford, "On Ethnographic Authority," *Representations*, vol.1, no. 2, pp. 118-46; and "Introduction: Partial Truths" in J. Clifford and G. Marcus, *Writing Culture: The Politics and Poetics of Ethnography*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1986; V. Crapanzano, "On the Writing of Ethnography," *Dialectical Anthropology*, vol. 22, no. 1 (1977), pp. 69-73; M. Strathern, "Art of Context: The Persuasive Fiction of Anthropology," *Current Anthropology*, vol. 28, no: 3 (1987), pp. 251-81. See also P. Corrigan, "The Body of Intellectuals/The Intellectual's Body," *The Sociological Review*, vol. 36, no. 2 (1988), pp. 368-80; H. Cixous, "Sorties: Out and Out: Attacks/Ways Out/Forays" in H. Cixous and C. Clément, *The Newly Born Woman*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1986.
5. See M. Foucault, *The Foucault Reader*, ed. P. Rabinow, New York, Pantheon, 1989, p. 49; and J. Clifford, "Introduction: Partial Truths," *op. cit*.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

1. P. Anderson, "Components of the National Culture," *New Left Review*, vol. 50 1968, p. 3-57.
2. *Ibid*.
3. Anderson, *op. cit. p. 19.*
4. E. Bird 1979, E. Johnson 1979, S. Hall 1980, R. A. Sydie 1981, J. Wolff 1982.
5. P. Etzkorn 1975, p. 480.
6. M. Weber, *The Rational and Social foundation of Music*, Carbondale, Illinois, Southern Illinois University Press, 1921/1958.
7. A. C. Sewter, 1935, "The Possibilities for a Sociology of Art." *The Sociological Review*, vol. 27, no. 4, pp.
8. R.A. Sydie, "The State of the Art: Sociology of Art in the Canadian Context."*Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, vol. 18, no. 1 (1981), p. 160.*
9. A. C. Sewter 1935; P. Sorokin 1937; H. Read 1936; M. Weber 1958; V. Kavolis 1968.

10. A. Silbermann, 1968, "Introduction: a definition of the sociology of art." *International Social Sciences Journal* 20: 472-90.
11. Silbermann, *op. cit.*
12. M. C. Albrecht et al., 1970.
13. H. White and C. White, 1965; M. Griff, 1968.
14. Richard Johnson, "Histories of Culture/Theories of Idealogy: Notes on an Impasse" Barret et al. *Ideology and Cultural Production*, New York, St. Martin's Press 1979, pp. 56-57.
15. S. Hall, "Cultural Studies and the Centre: Some Problematics and Problems" in Hall et al. *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972-79*, London, Hutchinson, 1989, pp. 20-21.
16. S. Hall, "Cultural Studies: Two Paradigms," *Media, Culture and Society*, vol. 2 (1980), p. 58.
17. *Ibid.*
18. R. Johnson, "Histories of Culture/Theories of Ideology: Notes on an Impasse" in M. Barrett et al *Ideology and Cultural Production*, London, Croom Helm, 1979, p. 51.
19. *Ibid*, p. 52.
20. Hall, "Cultural Studies," *op. cit.*, p. 72.
21. Johnson, *op. cit, p. 49.*
22. *Ibid*.
23. J. Wolff, "The Problem of Ideology in the Sociology of Art: A Case Study of Manchester in the Nineteenth Century," *Media, Culture and Society*, vol. 4 (1982), p. 63.
24. J. Wolff, *Hermeneutic Philosophy and the Sociology of Art*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975, p. 118.
25. *Ibid*., p. 10.
26. *Ibid*., p.
27. *Ibid*., p.
28. J. Wolff, *The Social Production of Art*, London, Macmillan, 1981, p. 143.
29. *Ibid*., p. 136.
30. *Ibid*., p. 136.
31. *Ibid*., p. 139.
32. *Ibid*., p. 7.
33. J. Wolff, *Aesthetics and the Sociology of Art*, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1983, p. 108.
34. *Ibid*., pp. 7-8.
35. J. Wolff and J. Seed, eds., *The Culture of Capital: Art, Power and the Nineteenth Century Middle-Class*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987, pp. 10-11.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.
37. A. Bowler, review of *The Social Production of Art*, *Social Forces*, vol. 62 (June) 1984, p. 1124.
38. *Ibid*.

39. K. H., review of _Hermeneutic Philosophy and the Sociology of Art_, _Review of Metaphysics_, vol. 35 (December 1981), p. 420.
40. T. Lovell, review of _Aesthetics and the Sociology of Art_, _Sociological Review_, vol. 32 (February 1984) p. 173.
41. V. Kavolis, review of _Hermeneutic Philosophy and the Sociology of Art_, _Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism_, vol. 34(Winter, 1975), p. 215.
42. A. Swingwood, review of _Hermeneutic Philosophy and the Sociology of Art_, _Sociological Review_, vol. 24 (February 1976), p. 175.
43. Lovell, _op. cit_.
44. T. Hincks, "Aesthetics and the Sociology of Art: A Critical Commentary on the Writings of Janet Wolff," _British Journal of Aesthetics_, vol. 24, no. 4 (1984), p. 347.
45. Although Hauser's _The Social History of Art_, has proven to be fertile ground for sociologists, in contrast, his _Sociology of Art_ (trans. Kenneth Northcott, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982) has left no trace. The latter is a cumbersome, outdated book covering a lot of the same ground — and not as well — as his _History_. His continuous forays into the different historical moments of art and his equally continuous shifts from analytic to empirical modes of exposition make it extremely difficult to follow — the only manageable part of this curious book is its preface. I say "curious" because apparently in 1938 Karl asked Hauser to have it included in the International Library's Sociology Series as a treatise on the sociology of art — but it was eventually published in 1974 without an index or a bibliography.
46. P. M. Hirsch 1972; R. A. Peterson 1976; 1978; 1979; 1986; Mannheim Clignet 1985; B. Rosenblum 1978; P. DiMaggio 1986, 1987; M. Bystryn 1978; V. Zolberg 1980, 1981, 1983; Martorella 1982; Greenfeld 1989.
47. J. R. Blau, "Study of the Arts: A Reappraisal," _Annual Review of Sociology_, Vol. 14, 1988, p. 281.
48. M. Griff 1968; J. W. Riemer and N. A. Brooks 1982; J. W. Getzels and M. Csiszentmihalyi 1968; F. Barron 1972; R. N. Wilson 1973; D. W. McKinnon 1965; A. W. Foster 1976; H. S. Bennett 1980; J. L. Hanna 1983; J. Neapolitan 1986; R. Faulkner 1973; J. Adler 1975, 1979; L. Bjorn 1981; J. B. Kamerman 1983, S. R. Couch 1983; J. R. Blau 1984; S. C. Dubin 1986; R. A. Stebbins 1976; C. R. Simpson 1981; A. K. Peters and M. G. Cantor 1982; R. A. Peterson and H. G. White 1979; M. Rogers 1970; D. Crane 1976, 1987; M. Mulkay and E. Chaplin 1982.
49. B. Rosenberg 1957; E. Shils 1978; L. B. Miller 1966; H. L. Horowitz 1976; K. E. Meyer 1979; P. DiMaggio 1982; M. Lamont and A. Lareau 1987; J. R. Blau 1986b, 1988b; P. M. Blau et al 1986.
50. P. DiMaggio and M. Useem 1983; R. Lynes 1949, 1970; V. Zolberg 1983; S. R. Couch 1983; R. Poggioli 1968; J. H. Balfe 1981; S. Guilbaut 1983.
51. H. Becker, "Art as Collective Action," _American Sociologial Review_, vol. 39, (1974), pp. 767-76.
52. H. Becker, _Art Worlds_, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1982.

53. H. Becker, "Art Worlds as Social Types," *American Behavioral Scientist*, vol. 83 (1976), pp. 703-18.
54. R. Moulin, *The French Art Market, A Sociological View*, New Brunswick, N. J. Rutgers Unversity Press, 1987 [abridged from *Le Marché de la peinture en France*, Paris, Editions de Munuit, 1967].
55. H. Becker, *Art Worlds*, *op. cit*., p. *x*.
56. *Ibid*., p. *xi*.
57. *Ibid*., p. 113.
58. See above notes 48-49.
59. R. Wilson, review of *Art Worlds* in *Society*, vol. 20 (1983), p. 94.
60. V. Kavolis, , review of *Art Worlds* in *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, vol. 41 (Winter 1982), p. 220.
61. Anonymous, review of *Art Worlds*, *Kirkus Reviews*, vol. 50 (February 1982), p. 242.
62. See note 48.
63. M. McCall, "Art Without a Market: Creating Artistic Value in a Provincial Art World," *Symbolic Interaction*, vol. 1 (1977), p. 32.
64. *Ibid*., p. 42.
65. M. Mulkay and E. Chaplin, "Aesthetics and the Artistic Career: A Study of Anomie in Fine-Art Painting," *Sociological Quarterly*, vol. 23 (1982), p. 137.
66. C. Greenfeld, *Different Worlds: A Sociological Study of Taste, Choice and Success in Art*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
67. *Ibid*, p. 42.
68. *Ibid*., p. 143.
69. *Ibid*.
70. The seven style groups are lyrical and geometric abstractionism; conceptualism; surrealism; five figurative painting; naïve painting; expressionism, and realism. She organizes these tyles on a continuum of the rigidity of professional requirements, on the individual freedom of an artist as follows: Individual Freedom of the Artist; Conceptualism; Lyrical and Geometic Abstractionism; Naïve; Free Figurative; Expressionism; Surrealism; Realism; and Rigidity of Professional Requirements.
71. See apprendix B. tables 2-5, 9-16 (for absence of women), pp. 180-90.
72. *Ibid*., pp. 176-77.
73. J. Wolff, *Aesthetics and the Sociology of Art*, *op. cit*., p. 22.
74. *Ibid*., pp. 23-24.
75. *Ibid*., p. 16.
76. See above note 74.
77. Hincks, "Aesthetics and the Sociology of Art: A Critical Commentary on the Writings of Janet Wolff," *British Journal of Aesthetics*, vol 24 (1984), pp. 340-54.
78. *Ibid*., pp. 346-47.
79. See Arthur Danto, "The Artworld," *Journal of Philosophy*, vol. 15 (1964): "To see something as art requires something the eye cannot decry — an

atmosphere of art theory, a knowledge of the history of art; an artworld" (p. 573). In his definition Dante allowed/presented art as a form of ife and gave the following example in discussion of Andy Warhol's Brillo Box:

> What in the end makes the difference between a Brillo box and a work of art consisting of a Brillo box is a certain theory of art. it is the theory that takes it up into the world of art, and keeps it from collapsing into the real object which it is (in a sense of is other than that of artistic role identification). Of course, without the theory, one is unlikely to see it as art, and in order to see it as part of the artworld, one must have mastered a good deal of artistic theory as well as a considerable amount of the history of recent New York painting (p. 581).

George Dickie, another philosopher of art, pushed Danto's concept further by recognizing and discussing the inter-relations between the institution of art and the rest of society; he generated a more useful concept for sociological studies in general and Bourdieu's concept of artistic field in particular, in *Art and the Aesthetic: An Institutional Analysis* London: Cornell University press, 1974).

> The art world consists of a bundle of systems: theatre, painting, sculpture, literature, music and so on, each of which furnishes an institutional background for the conferring of the status on objects within its domain. No limit can be placed on the number of systems that can be brought under the generic conception of art, and each of the major systems contains further subsystems. (p. 33)

And further down: "A work of art in the classificatory sense is (1) an artifact, (2) a set of the aspects of which has had conferred upon it the status of candidate for appreciation by some person or persons acting on behalf of a certain social institution (the artworld)" (p. 34). Howard Becker, by leaving behind the history of the institution and the relational network within and outside it, and by ignoring the fact that participation in the discourse of art/aesthetic is what allows participation in the art world, was able to leave behind artists, art objects, and their modus operandi: aesthetic theory and practic.

80. Eugene Rochberg-Halton, *Meaning and Modernity: Social Theory in the Pragmatic Attitude*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1986, p. 40.

81. The notion of the "specificity of the aesthetic," which sociologists have routinely relegated to philosophy or art history, or implored its inclusion in sociological discussions (as Janet Wolff has occsionally done), refer back to the ideas of beauty, the beautiful, and their appreciation that became institutionalized during the eighteenth century in the art academies of western

Europe and that originate with the Kantain notions of beauty of self-contained, independent of existence, and in its pure form, a manifestation of the perfect/ideal/absolute. To receive beauty is to receive a disinterested satisfaction, that is, functionless, impartial and gratuitous. Both artists and their audience participate in this transcendental tradition. This same tradition is the dominant discoure that to this day informs the art historical/critical and creative practices of the worlds of art. for a socio-historical discussion of the specificity of the aesthetic and the autonomy of art, see P. Bourdieu, 1987-88, 1988, and 1980, see also Peter Bürger, *Theory of the Avant Garde*, trans. Michael Shaw, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota press, 1984.

82. Becker, *Artworlds*, *op. cit*., p. *x*
83. C. Kadushin (1976), D. Crane (1976) and M. R. Bystryn (1981).
84. Paul J. DiMaggio, "The Sociology of Art Comes of Age," *Contemporary Sociology*, vol. 12 (1983), pp. 273-74.
85. Hincks, *op. cit*., p. 344.
86. See above note 74.
87. Hincks, *op. cit*., pp. 346-47.
88. J. Wolff, *Feminine Sentences: Essays on Women and Culture*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1990.
89. *Ibi*d., p. 107.
90. *Ibi*d., p. 106.
91. N. Elias, *The Symbol Theory*, London, Sage, 1990, p. 84.
92. C. Castoriadis's, "The Imaginary Institution of society" in J. Fekeke, *The Structural Allegory: Reconstructive Encounters with the New French Thought*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1984, p. 9.
93. J. B. Thompson, *Studies in the Theory of Ideology*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1984, p. 36.
94. *Ibid*.
95. Castoriadis, *op. cit*., p. 23.
96. *Ibid*.
97. *Ibid*. p. 23.
98. *Ibid*., p. 12.
99. See D. Howard, *op. cit*. pp. 117-31, for a discussion of Castoriadis's work and its fate; see also Greg M. Nielsen and John D. Jackson, "Cultural Studies, A Sociological Poetics: Institutions of the Canadian Imaginary," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, vol. 28, no. 2 (1991) pp. 279-98. It was John Jackson who introduced me to Castoriadis's "imaginary" as well to Angenot's and Boudon's views of Bourdieu.
100. *Ibid*. p. 16.
101. *Ibid*.
102. See N. Granham and R. Williams, "Pierre Bourdieu and the Sociology of Culture: An Introduction," *Media, Culture and Society*, vol. 2 (1980), pp. 209-23; Roger Brubaker, "Rethinking Classical Theory: The Sociological Vision of Pierre Bourdieu," *Theory and Society*, vol. 14 (1985), pp. 723-44; A.

Giddens, "The Politics of Taste," *Partisan Review*, vol. 53, no. 2 (1986), pp. 300-5; R. Collins, "Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste," *Society*, vol. 80 (1986), pp. 80-81; V. Zolberg, "Taste as a Social Weapon," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 91 (1986), pp. 511-15; B. M. Berger, "Taste and Domination," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 91, no. 6 (1986), pp. 1445-53.

103. My summary description of Pierre Bourdieu's more extensive use of the intellectual field construct is based, in addition, on the following of Bourdieu's works: "The Historical Genesis of a Pure Aesthetic, *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, vol. 46, no. 88 (1987), pp. 201-10; "The Field of Cultural Production, or: The Economic World Reversed," *Poetics* vol 12 (1983), pp. 311-356; "The Market of Symbolic Goods," *Poetics*, vol. 14 (1985), pp. 13-44; "Flaubert's Point of View," *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 14 (1988), pp. 539-62; Loïc Wacquant, "Towards a Reflexive Sociology: A Workshop with Pierre Bourdieu," *Sociological Theory*, vol. 7 (1989), p. 50.

104. N. Elias, *The Symbol Theory*, edited with an introduction by R. Kilminster, London, Sage Publications, 1991, pp. 82-109.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

1. V. Zolberg, *Constructing a Sociology of the Arts*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990.
2. H. Becker, *Art Worlds*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1982, p. 145.
3. J. Wolff, *The Social Production of Art*, London, Macmillan, 1982, p. 7.
4. C. C. Lemert, "Literary Politics and the *Champ* of French Sociology," *Theory and Society*, vol 10, no. 5(1981), pp. 645-69.
5. P. Bourdieu, "Intellectual Field and Creative Project," *Social Science Information*, vol. 8, no. 2(1969), p. 89.

6. *Ibid*, p. 90.
7. *Ibid*, p. 93.
8. *Ibid*, p. 100.
9. See also P. Bourdieu: "Outline of a Sociological Theory of Art Perception," *International Social Science Journal*, vol. 20, no. 4(1968), 99. 589-612; "The Specificity of the Scientific Field," *Social Science Information*, vol. 14, no. 5(1975), pp. 19-47; "The Production of Belief: Contribution to an Economy of Symbolic Goods," *Media, Culture and Society*, vol. 2(1980), pp.261-293; "The Field of Cultural Production, or: The Economic World Reversed," *Poetics*, vol. 12(1983), pp. 311-56; "The Market of Symbolic Goods," *Poetics*, vol. 14(1985), pp. 13-44; "The Social Space and The Genesis of Groups." *Theory and Society*, vol. 14(1985), pp. 723-44; "The Genesis of the Concept of *Habitus* and of *Field*," *Sociocriticism*, vol. 2(19185), pp. 11-24; "The Historical Genesis of a Pure Aesthetic," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, vol. 46(1987/88), pp. 201-10.

10. D. Robbins, *The Work of Pierre Bourdieu: Recognizing Society*, Boulder, Westview, 1991, p. 91.
11. *Ibid*., p. 176.
12. *Ibid*., p. 179.
13. L. Wacquant, "Towards a Reflexive Sociology: A Workshop with Pierre Bourdieu," *Sociological Theory*, vol. 7(1989), p. 50.
14. *Ibid*., p. 51.
15. M. Angenot, "Structuralism as Syncretism: Institutional Distortions of Saussure" in J. Feteke, *The Structural Allegory: Reconstructive Encounters with the New French Thought*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1984, p. 159.
16. R. Boudon, *The Analysis of Ideology*, trans. Malcolm Slater, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1989, p. 156.
17. *Ibid*., p. 157.
18. R. Collins, "Cultural Capitalism and Symbolic Violence in *Sociology Since Mid-Century: Essays in Theory Cumulation*, New York: Academic Press, 1981, pp. 173-82; P. Sulkunen, "Society Made Visible: On the Cultural Society of Pierre Bourdieu," *Acta Sociologica*, vol. 25, no. 2(1982), pp. 103-15; L. J. D. Wacquant, "Symbolic Violence and the Making of the French Agriculturalist: An Inquiry into Pierre Bourdieu's Sociology," *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, vol. 23, no. 1(1987), pp. 65-88.
19. L. Wacquant, "Towards a Reflexive Sociology: A Workshop with Pierre Bourdieu," *op. cit*., 7(1989), pp. 26-60.
20. P. Lamaison, "From Rules to Strategies: An Interview with Pierre Bourdieu," *Cultural Anthropology*, vol. 1, no. 1(1986), pp. 110-20. See also an interview with Pierre Bourdieu and Axel Honneth, by Hermann Kocyba and Bernud Schwibs: "The Struggle for Symbolic Order; An Interview with Pierre Bourdieu," *Theory, Culture and Society*, vol. 3, no. 3(1986), pp. 35-51.
21. P. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory for Practice*, trans. R. Nice, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1977, pp. 1-29.
22. Bourdieu, "Intellectual Field and Creative Project," *op. cit*., p. 116.
23. P. Bourdieu, A. Darbel with D. Schnapper, *The Love of Art: European Museums and Their Public*, trans. by C. Beattie and N. Merriman, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991, p. 109.
24. E. Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, London: Harmondsworth, 1970.
25. Bourdieu, "Intellectual Field and the Creative Project," *op. cit.*
26. Bourdieu, *Outline*, *op. cit*.
27. A. L. Rosenberg, "Women Artists and the Canadian Art World: A Survey," *Atlantis*, vol. 5, no. 1(1979), p. 107.
28. C. J. Van Rees, "Advances in the Empirical Sociology of Literature and the Arts: The Institutional Approach," *Poetics*, vol. 12(1983), p. 289.
29. *Ibid*, pp. 300-1.

30. For an excellent discussion of the difficulties in "setting" any final definition of art, see Richard Wollheim, *Art and Its Objects*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1980. See also, Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society*, 1878-1950, New York, Harper and Row, 1966, and *Keywords*, New York, Harper and Row, 1976.

Chapter 4: In Search of Method

1. J. Wolff, *Hermeneutic Philosophy and the Sociology of Art*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975, p. 137.
2. H. Becker 1982; M. R. Bystryn 1978.
3. M. McCall 1978; M. Mulkay and E. Chaplin 1982.
4. S. Kirby and K. McKenna, *Experience, Research, Social Change*, Toronto: Garamont Press, 1989, p. 7.
5. My interview with Terry Fenton, 29 March, 1984.
6. Clement Greenberg, *Art and Culture* (Boston, Beacon Press, 1967) p.x.
7. Greenberg, in his public talk, suggested that one is to go and simply look at paintings, regardless of their execution (technical or stylistic) and see which one catches one's eye longer, without paying heed to any advice on aesthetic quality or value. Without ever referring to the intricacies of the art market, he admonished the audience to avoid "trendiness": fashion and prices come and go and most works considered "valuable" usually do not reflect their aesthetic quality or excellence. I wondered if he had in mind some of the artists he had supported throughout the last forty years, because he has been a trendsetter himself, or made painters or styles "trendy." Quite often, he stated, he has made mistakes and learned from them, so to try to obtain an elaboration on trendiness would have been a waste of time. All the same, trendiness is a very real and interesting phenomenon in the art world. Greenberg said that because each one of us is a different person with a distinct background and sensibilities, we react to the same pictures differently: what counts for him is that when we respond, we do so fully, implying a break from everyday life. Good paintings for each one of us are those that allow us to linger longer, to attend to them visually as if in suspended animation; that's where the joy comes from. Though paintings have been produced in order to be looked at, throughout history people have also put up other objects to be looked at: looking in this specifically aesthetic, uncritical — "natural" — manner allows one to take a break from the way things are. The good feeling comes from seeing how else things might be; this pause to look at something new and unexpected — to see things, not the way they are, but the way they could be — possibly holds the key to our fascination with art.
8. I was to repeat this ritual two years later, in 1986.

9. See S. Guilbaut, *How New York Stole The Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War,* Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1983; C. Harrison and F. Orton, eds., *Modernism, Criticism, Realism*, London: Harper and Row, 1984; T. Crow, "Modernising and Mass Culture in the Visual Arts"; and a panel discussion on *Modernism - Modernity* with T. J. Clark, Clement Greenberg, Benjamin Buchloh, and Marcelin Pleynet at the 1983 Vancouver Conference on the Arts.
10. R. Parker and G. Pollock, *Old Mistresses: Women, Art, and Ideology*, New York, Pantheon, 1981; G. Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism, and the Histories of Art*, London, Routledge, 1988. Pollock has also published numerous articles in *Block*.
11. It had thirty-seven questions that produced totally predictable answers, partly because of the way the questions were constructed and partly because painters with similar training seem to have the same "pat" answers.
12. That registry is no longer in existence; over the years, owing to increasing cuts in the branch's budget the upkeep (however minimal) was diminished, and the registry was discontinued in June 1990.
13. Some painters might have been more willing to talk to me if my work were going to be published in one of the art magazines, because they could use it for their C.V.s; most artists believe (and they are right) that any mention in the trade magazines is better than no mention at all.
14. See G. McGregor, *The Wacousta Syndrome: Explorations in the Canadian Langscape*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1985, especially chapters 1, 5, and 10.
15. D. E. Smith, *The Everyday World as Problematic: A Feminist Sociology* Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1987, p.71.
16. *Ibid*.
17. For a discussion of Smith's glossing over of the problems arising from imposing a "privileged" conception of the other, see Leslie Miller's review essay of *The Everyday World as Problematic* in *Canadian Journal of Sociology*. vol. 14, no. 4(1989), pp. 521-530.
18. L. Greenfeld, *Different Worlds: A Sociological Study of Taste, Choice and Success in Art*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989.
19. L. J. D. Wacquant, "Towards a Reflexive Sociology: A Workshop with Pierre Bourdieu," *Sociological Theory*, vol. 7 (1989), pp. 26-63.
20. *Ibid*., p. 26.
21. Vol. 8, no. 2, pp. 89-119.
22. *Ibid., p. 34.*
23. *Ibid*., p. 34.
24. P. Bourdieu, "The Field of Cultural Production, or: The Economic World Reversed," *Poetics*, vol. 12 (1983), p. 347.
25. P. Bourdieu, "Men and Machines" in K. Knorr-Cetina and R. Cicourel in *Advances in Social Theory and Methodology: Toward an Integration of Micro-macro Sociologies*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, p. 311.

26. *Ibid*., p. 307.
27. *Ibid*., p. 311.
28. P. Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984, p. 54.
29. In a rarely quoted article that is a review of an art exhibit, "Social Science and the work of Hans Haacke," in Haacke, *Framing and Being Framed*, 1970-75, Halifax, Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1975, pp. 145-54. Howard Becker in collaboration with John Walton discuss the work of Haacke — a conceptual political German artist very controversial in New York's art world of the 1960s and 1970s - as being quite similar in its execution to that of a social scientist. Haacke wanted to expose the political and economic connections of the art world. The part of the work reviewed that is of interest to us here is Haacke's use of the method of *event analysis* method in his examination of the provenance of particular paintings by Manet and Seurat at the Paul Maenz Gallery in Cologne, July 1974. An event analysis, according, to Becker and Walton, "focuses on key decisions and reconstructs their histories, seeking to discover who participated in making them. Analysts study several important decisions, to see whether the same people exercise power in all cases or whether the decision making elite consists of different people for each issue or area of politics" (p. 146). Haacke, through the use of the art historical technique of provenance, which "relies almost entirely on publicly available data (from Who's Who, reports of art auctions and the like)" (p. 147); the data collected thusly depend "solely on publicly verifiable data which do not require interpretation to be used" (p. 147). Becker and Walton conclude that Haacke unintentionally made a contribution to social science discourse on art by contributing to the study of the history of ownership "of a socially valued object (its "career"), thus tracing the outlines of some portion of an elite network" such as an art world (p. 148). Other helpful studies are Cornelius Jacob Van Rees, "How a Literary Work Becomes a Masterpiece: On the Threefold Selection Practised by Literary Criticism," *Poetics* vol. 12(1983) of Cultural Productions," *Poetics*, vol. 14(1985), pp. 5-11; and H. Verdaasdonk, "Empirical Sociology of Literature on a Non-Textually Oriented Form of Research," *Poetics*, vol. 14(1985), pp. 173 - 185.
30. S. Freud, quoted in Margaret R. Miles, *Image as Insight: Visual Understanding in Western Christianity and Secular Culture*, Boston, Beacon, 1985, p. XII.
31. J. Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, London, BBC/Penguin, 1972, p. 7.
32. Miles, *op. cit*., pp. 27-38.
33. Haacke, *Framing and Being Framed*, *op. cit*.
34. Pekka Sulkunen, "Society Made Visible: On the Cultural Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu" *Acta Sociologica*, vol. 25 (1982), pp. 105.
35. C. Geertz, *Local Knowledge*. Further essays in interpretive Anthropoloy, New York, Basic, 1983, p. 16.

Chapter 5: The Art World: Historical Antecedents and Structure

1. P. O. Kristeller, "The Modern System of the Arts" in Kennick *Art and Philosophy*, London, St. Martin's, 1979, pp. 7-33.
2. J. Beckwith, *Early Medieval Art: Carolingian, Ottonian, Romanesque*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1989, p.10.
3. *Ibid*., p. 27.
4. W. Slatkin, *Women artists in history: from antiquity to the 20th century*, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1985.
5. Margaret R. Miles, *Image as Insight: Visual Understanding in Western Christianity and Secular Culture*, Boston, Beacon Press, 1985, pp: 82-89.
6. P. O. Kristeller, *op*. *cit*.
7. C. R. and H. Zerner, *Romanticism and Realism: The Mythology of Nineteenth Century Art*, London, Faber and Faber, 1984, p.183.
8. R.A. Sydie, "Humanism, Patronage and the Question of Women's Artistic Genius in the Italian Renaissance," *Journal of Historical Sociology*, vol. 2, no. 3, (1989), pp. 175-205.
9. *Ibid*., p. 199.
10. R. Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine*, London, Women's Press, 1984.
11. M. Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1988, p. 107.
12. M. Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy*, London, Oxford University Press, 1972, p.80.
13. *Ibid*., p.152.
14. Kristeller, *op*. *cit*.
15. Sydie, *op*. *cit*.
16. N. Pevsner, "French and Dutch Artists in the Seventeenth Century" in *The Sociology of Art and Literature*, M. C. Albrecht, et al, London, Duckworth, 1970, pp. 363-369.
17. Kristeller, *op*., *cit*.
18. Pevsner, *op*. *cit*.
19. *Ibid*.
20. R. A. Sydie, "Women Painters in Britain: 1768-1848," *Atlantis*, vol. 5, no.2, (1980), pp. 144-75.
21. R. Parker and G. Pollock, *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology*, New York, Pantheon, 1981, p. 87.
22. See T. J. Clark, *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution*, and *The Absolute Bourgeois: Artists and Politics in France, 1848-1851*, both published by Thames and Hudson, London, both in 1973.
23. Sydie, "Women Painters," *op*. *cit*., p. 163.
24. Pevsner, *op*. *cit*.
25. This whole exchange is published in John Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, London, BBC/Penquin Books, 1972, pp. 106-8.

26. F. Haskell, *Redisoveries in Art: Some Aspects of Taste, Fashion and Collecting in England and France*, London, Phaidon, 1976.
27. D. M. Fox, "Artists in the Modern State: The Nineteenth-Century Background" in *The Sociology of Art*, M. C. Albrecht, Barnett et al, London, Duckworth,1970, pp. 370-87.
28. Books on Canadian painting are a scare commodity. The most comprehensive work is R. Harper's *Painting in Canada* (1966), which most other publications refer to as a source; it contains very few references to western painting as at the time of its publication, not much had happened in the western provinces. There is B. Lord's *The History of Painting in Canada* (1974), a highly partisan examination of Canadian painting as colonial painting, — first under French, then English, and now American influence; the west is discussed more extensively. And finally, there is K. Wilkin's *Painting in Alberta: An Historical Survey* (1980), published celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Province of Alberta. Historical information for the present paper is drawn from the above sources and from my own experience in I developing a series of portraits of the older-generation painters of Alberta for Access Educational Television during 1981 and 1982. The artists I spent time with were Ron Spickett, Luke Lindoe, Janet Mitchell, Stan Perrott, Illingworth Kerr, Stan Blodgett, and Marion and Jim Nicoll.
29. M. Tippett, *Making Culture: English-Canadian Institutions and the Arts Before the Massey Commission*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press 1990, Chapter Three.
30. E.J. Hart, *The Selling of Canada: The CPR and the Beginnings of Canadian Tourism*, Banff, Altitude Publishing Ltd., 1983, pp. 31-40.
31. Lord Bessborough quoted in Tippet, *op. cit., p. 65*.
32. Hart, *op. cit*.
33. The Group of Seven has been widely accepted as the National School of Painting; to see how this was accomplished read D. Cole's "Artists, Patrons and Public: An Enquiry into the Success of the Group of Seven", *Journal of Canadian Studies* 13:2 (1978): 69-78.
34. Gibbons's notion of the "mosaic" was rather monochromatic; in the Preface to his highly recognized book *Canadian Mosaic* (it received the 1938 Governor General's Award) we read: Canadians "are made up of European racial groups... which have not yet blended into one tyre" an eventuality that might occur in a couple of hundred years so that... "Canadians may be **fused** together and **standardized** so that you can recognize them anywhere in the world" (emphasis added) p.x.
35. There are no books on the history of painting in Alberta, and other historical anecdotal information is rather limited. To obtain information, one needs to go through monographs, anniversary catalogues, interviews with those still around from the pioneering years of the province, and the occasional newspaper/magazine article.

36. K. Berge, "From a Fort to a City: Paintings of Historical Edmonton," *Update*, vol. 6, no. 5 (1985), pp. 2-3.
37. D. Shute, "The Edmonton Art Club: Still Going Strong," *Update*, vol. 4, no. 3 (1983), p. 13.
38. J. Greer, "Sixty-Fifth Annual Spring Exhibition: Edmonton Art Club Celebrates its History," *Update*, no. 2 (1987), p. 4.
39. Shute, *op*. *cit*.
40. Greer, *op*. *cit*., p. 5.
41. *Ibid*.
42. K. Davis, "Difficult Challenges — Great Joys: History of the EAG," *Update*, vol. 6, no. 4 (1989), p. 5. This is most historically complete document to date.
43. *Ibid*., p. 6.
44. *Ibid*., p. 5.
45. *Ibid*., p. 7.
46. *Ibid*.
47. R. H. Boulet, "The Gallery Collects: A Brief History," *Outlook*, vol. 1, no. 2, (1990), p. 1.
48. J. A. Forbes, *"Art at the University of Alberta - The First Decade (1946-1956)*, Department of Art and Design, University of Alberta, Catalogue for Staff Exhibition at the Edmonton Art Gallery, Edmonton, 1985, p. 6.
49. J. Skrip, "Ring House Gallery Shuts Down," *The Edmonton Bullet*, 8 December 1988, p. 19.
50. R. Chenier, quoted in the exhibit catalogue *Celebrations: Works By Selected Graduate Students, 1970-1986*, Department of Art and Design, University of Alberta, 1987.
51. K. Ashwell, "Alberta Blossoms into Arts Mecca", *The Edmonton Journal*, 20 August 1980, p. 5.
52. All quoted in H. Corbett, "The 10-Block Art Gallery," *The Edmonton Journal, 23 February 1980, D1.*
53. Quoted in H. Corbett, "Historic Area Attracting Galleries," *The Edmonton Journal*, 11 April 1981, C1.
54. G. Pierce, *The Edmonton Journal*.
55. Quoted in V. Coady, "Artists Eye Gallery in Old Post Office," *The Edmonton Journal*, 25 May 1982, A11. See also Phylis Matousek, "Sandboxes Change, Occupants Don't", *The Edmonton Journal*, 6 August 1983, D1.
56. W. McConnell, "A Pleasant Day of Art in the Park," *The Edmonton Journal*, 28 July 1980, B2.
57. Quoted in "Economy Bites Art Park Sales," *The Edmonton Journal*, 12 July 1982, B2.
58. All quoted in M. Gold, "Art Park Designed for Family," *The Edmonton Journal*, June 15, 1987, B2.
59. M. Buren, "Function of the Museum" in Hertz *Theories of Contemporary Art*, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, N.J., 1985, p. 189.

60. H. Rosenberg, "The Art Establishment" in Albrecht, Barnett, and Griff, The Sociology of Art and Literature, London, Duckworth, 1970, p. 394.
61. No byline (1980), "Butti loses bid to delay gallery grant", The Edmonton Journal, May 28, 1980, B6.
62. A. Mayer (1982), "Conservatives' art plan has opposition angry", The Edmonton Journal, April 27, 1982, B1.
63. V. Coady (1982), "Art gallery in search of members", The Edmonton Journal, May 6, 1982, C9.
64. *Ibid.*
65. P. Matousek (1982), "Dr. Lakey is new EAG president", The Edmonton Journal, May 30, 1982, E2.
66. No byline (1983), "Museum, gallery get $336,000 in grants", The Edmonton Journal, January 29, 1983, C5.
67. D. Kucherawy (1983), "City's arts policy still a long way from definition", The Edmonton Journal, September 7, 1983, H12.
68. D. Kucherawy (1983), "City's arts policy still a long way from definition", The Edmonton Journal, September 7, 1983, H12.
69. *Ibid.*
70. P. Matousek (1983), "Back to square one for city arts policy", The Edmonton Journal, September 10, 1983, C5.
71. D. Kucherawy (1983), "'Outsider' may write arts policy," The Edmonton Journal, September 18, 1983, B13.
72. D. Kucherawy, "Co-operate, Decore tells city groups," The Edmonton Journal, April 25, 1984, B1.
73. No byline (1983), "Arts policy sent to mayor's office," The Edmonton Journal, December 21, 1983, D9.
74. *Ibid.*
75. S. Das (1984), "Extra cash rescues art gallery," The Edmonton Journal, April 25, 1984, B1.
76. P. Matousek (1985), "Gala year for gallery," The Edmonton Journal, January 5, 1985, E6.
77. *Ibid.*
78. J. Adams (1985), "Gala year for gallery," The Edmonton Journal, January 5, 1985, B1.
79. P. Matousek (1985), "Gallery turns panic to positive thinking," The Edmonton Journal, April 20, 1985, D2.
80. *Ibid.*
81. P. Matousek (1985) "Canada Council funding seen as a form of censorship," The Edmonton Journal, November 8, 1985, E8.
82. *Ibid.*
83. No byline (1985), "EAG likely to close library and art education courses Jan. 1," The Edmonton Journal, December 7, 1985, G6.
84. J. Adams (1985), "Arts, cultural groups urged to lobby council," The Edmonton Journal, October 11, 1985, E4.

85. J. Adams (1985), "Marriage contract drafted for artsies and muticult," *The Edmonton Journal*, August 31, 1985, D1.
86. Adams, *op*. *cit*. Oct 11, 1985.
87. V. Sosnowski McRoberts, "Edmonton Art Gallery Facing Crisis," *The Edmonton Journal*, 4 January 1986, E1.
88. *Ibid*.
89. *Ibid*.
90. *Ibid*.
91. R. Chalmers, "EAG End Year with $75, 403 Deficit," *The Edmonton Journal*, 5 April 1986, D6.
92. R. Chalmer, "Gallery Week Prices Are Right as EAG Cash Net for Patrons," *The Edmonton Journal*, 19 September 1986, D4.
93. J. Geiger, "Gallery Faces 'Drastic' Cut in Hours," *The Edmonton Journal*, 22 August 1987, H5.
94. V. Sosnowski, "New EAG Director Still Mysters," *The Edmonton Journal*, 22 August 1987, D1.
95. V. Sosnowski, "EAG Board Changes Crucial to Gallery's Future," *The Edmonton Journal*, 12 December 1987, E10.
96. V. Sosnowski, "EAG Board changes Crucial to Gallery's Future," *The Edmonton Journal*, 12 December 1987, E10.
97. V. Sosnowski, "Choking Sound, EAG in Distress," *The Edmonton Journal*, 12 March 1987, F8.
98. *Ibid*.
99. "Cashing In on Culture," *The Edmonton Journal*, 20 August 1988, A4 (no byline).
100. *Ibid*.
101. L. Shorten, "City Arts Funding Said Left in the Dust," *The Edmonton Journal*, 21 September 1988, D2.
102. *Ibid*.
103. E. Struzik, "Lotteries Millions Go to Fund Arts," *The Edmonton Journal, 16 February 1989, A1.*
104. A. Kellogg, "However Tained, Money's Welcome," *The Edmonton Journal*, 19 February 1989, B3.
105. K. Blevins, "Cities Cast in Crucial Role of Spurring Support for Arts," *The Edmonton Journal*, 27 February 1989, B3.
106. *Ibid*.
107. M. Savada, "Art Policy Feuding with Council to Add $300,000 to City Hall Walls, *The Edmonton Journal*, 20 December 1989, B3.
108. M. Savad, "Defining Art Becomes $400,000 Question for City Council," *The Edmonton Journal*, 2 June 1990, C1.
109. M. Savada (1989). "Art policy feuding with Council to add $300,000 to city hall walls," *The Edmonton Journal*, December 20, 1989, B3.
110. *Ibid*.
111. *Ibid*.

Chapter 6: Edmonton's Art World: The Actors

1. M. Kelly, "Re-viewing Modernist Criticism" in Wallis, *Art After Modernism: Rethinking Rethinking Representation*, Boston, New Museum of Contemporary Art, New York/David R. Godine, Publisher, 1984, p. 100.
2. The majority of the art world actors as well as the majority of government bureaucrats and consultants seem to be happily entrenched in using the generic "he" when discussing artists, even when the artists are women talking about their work and its advertising. Witness the words of Isabelle Levesque, Edmonton painter: "I feel that it's generally a good thing for an artist to be able to intelligently talk about his work, but there has to be something in the art that speaks to people. Otherwise, you can talk until doomsday and the public won't buy it" (quoted in Olenka Melnyk, "Can You Talk About Your Art?" by Olenka Melnyk, in *Reprints from the Visual Arts Newsletter*, by Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism, n.p. unpaginated.
3. Quoted in the *Visual Arts Newsletter*, Volume 2, no. 3.
4. W. A. Preshing and R. Coulombe, *Art As Industry*, study by the Management Institute, Faculty of Business, University of Alberta for the Alberta Art Foundation, 1983, p.4.
5. *Ibid*.
6. *Ibid*. Some of the findings in the same study were:

	Estimated No. of Artists	Average monies spent/year $ million	Multiplier effect on provincial economy $ million
Professionals	530	5.9	11.5
Visual Art Students	2,060	2.05	3.7
Visual Art Club Members	6,575	3.3	6.6
Art Galleries	200	3.06	20.0
Retail Craft Outlets	700	10.5	21.0
Major Craft Fairs	8	.4	.8
			$ 63.6 M.

. . . .

Media	No. of Professionals	Expenditure			Income		Total Expenditure	
		Average Annual	% in of province	% out of province	% in of province	% out of province	in province	out province
Sculpture	65	$ 14,000	90	10	55	45	$ 829,000	$ 91,000
Painting	200	11,000	80	20	47	53	1,760,000	440,000
Printmaking	35	9,000	95	5	50	50	299,250	15,700
Photography	20	14,000	95	5	27	73	266,000	14,000
Clay, Ceramics Art Glass	170	11,500	95	5	80	20	1,857,250	97,750
Fibre Art	30	10,000	95	5	70	30	285,000	15,000
Jewellery Silversmiths	5							
Wood	5	9,000	5	5	100	-	42,750	2,250
TOTAL	530	$ 78,500					$5,329,250	$675,700

7. Names of and standard biographical information on painters can be obtained in Edmonton from commercial galleries the art clubs and associations the public libraries; and the now defunct registries of the Alberta Arts Foundation and the Visual Arts Branch of Alberta Culture.
8. H. Haacke, "Museums, Managers of consciousness" in Wallis, *Hans Haacke: Unfinished Business*, Wallis, New York, Cambridge, Mass. Museum of Contemporary Art, 1985, p.67.
9. Both men quoted in Melnyk "Can You Talk About Your Art?", *op*. *cit*.
10. All quotes from *Exhibition of Work by Teaching Staff of the Department of Art and Design. University of Alberta*, Published by the Department of Art and Design, University of Alberta, 1985.
11. S. Owen, quoted in P. Matousek, "A New Sensitivity to Colour in Seka Owen's Latest Work," *The Edmonton Journal*, 2 June 1984, D2.
12. A. Rockett, quoted in V. Sosnowski McRoberts, "Painter Inspired by Prairie Seasons," *The Edmonton Journal*, 29 March 1986, C7.
13. J. Klar, quoted in R. Chalmers, "Successful Painter Expands Horizons," *The Edmonton Journal*, 28 November 1987, C1.
14. A. Poitras, quoted in D. Staples, "An Eagle Learns to Soar: Rediscovering Native Heritage Unleashes Artist's Talent," *The Edmonton Journal*, 29 December 1989, C1.
15. "Gibbs' Work Snapped Up" *The Edmonton Journal*, 24 February 1981, D11,
16. L.Gibbs, quoted in H. Corbett, "Edmonton is Gibbs' Inspiration — Sketching Alberta Prairie," *The Edmonton Journal*, 23 February 1981, A12.
17. See R. Chalmers, "$75-a-Month Days Shaped His Art", *The Edmonton Journal*, 18 October 1986, D6; V. Sosnowski, "McInnis's Whyte Avenue Works Spellbinding," *The Edmonton Journal*, 19 September 1987, E1; and D. Staples, "Obsession with Art", *The Edmonton Journal*, 15 January 1989, C1.
18. R. McInnis, quoted in David Staples, *ibid*.
19. From *Reprints from the Visual Arts Newsletter*, *op*. *cit*.
20. R. Moulin, *The French Art Market: A Sociological View*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1987, p.127.
21. Both quoted in R. Sibley, "Art Gallery 'Like a Club', Artist Claims", *The Edmonton Journal*, 21 April 1982, E12.
22. This quote and all others from the "dissident" group are from B. Weber, "The EAG Battle: What's It All About?", *The Edmonton Bullet*, 1 April 1986, p. 5-6.
23. Moulin, *op*. *cit*., p. 127.
24. R. Chalmers, Artists Must See Big Picture," *The Edmonton Journal*, 29 April 1989, C1.
25. D. Carrier, "Art and Its Market" in Hertz *Theories of Contemporary Art*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1985, p. 193-94.
26. *Ibid*, p. 198.
27. V. Hammock, quoted in K. Davis, *op*. *cit*., p. 13.
28. C. Greenberg, "Clement Greenberg's View: Painting and Sculpture in Prairie

Canada Today," *Canadian Art*, March 1963, p. 94.

29. For a complete chronology see "Abstract Painting in Edmonton: A Brief History," *Update*, vol. 7, no. 4 (1986), pp. 9 - 10.
30. J. Adams, "Art — Only the Best Will Do," *The Edmonton Journal*, 23 May 1981, H5.
31. Interview with the author, 29 March 1984.
32. Quoted in Adams, *op. cit*.
33. Interview with the author, 13 March 1984.
34. Interview with the author, 29 March 1984.
35. *Ibid*.
36. *Ibid*.
37. T. Fenton and K. Wilkin, *Modern Painting in Canada: Major Movements in Twentieth Century Canadian Art*, Edmonton, Hurtig/Edmonton Art Gallery, 1978, p. 82.
38. Interview with the author, 13 March 1984.
39. *Ibid*.
40. T. Fenton, "Speaking About Olitski," *Update*, vol. 5, no. 2 1984, p. 16.
41. T. Fenton, "The Crisis in Taste: And How to Put an End to It," *Update*, vol.1, no. 5, (198). unpaginated.
42. K. Manos, "On The Language of Art Writing: Attack on Jargon Justified if Art Writers Pay Heed," *Artswest*, vol. 9, no. 2 (1984), p. 20.
43. R. Bingham, "James Walsh and John King," *Update*, vol. 6, no. 6 (1985), p. 5.
44. R. Bingham, "Graham Peacock: Paint and Process," *Update*, no. 4 (1987), pp. 8-9. Fourth Issue, p.8-9.
45. K. Wilkin, "William Perebudoff: Ten Years 1970-1980," *Update*, vol. 4, no. 3 (1983), p. 2.
46. K. Wilkin, "*Abstractionx4: Joseph Drapell, Harold Feist, Douglas Haynes, Leopold Plotek*," Exhibition catalogue organized and supported by the Canada House Cultural Centre Gallery, London, England, unpaginated.
47. Quoted in M. Kelly, "Reviewing Modernist Criticism," op. cit., p. 90. First appeared in Greenberg, "Modernist Painting," *Arts Yearbook*, No. 4 (1961) and "After Expressionism," *Art International*, vol. 6, no. 8, p. 30, respectively.
48. *Ibid*., p. 91.
49. H. Haacke, "Museums, Managers of Consciousness," *op. cited*, p. 66.
50. Fenton, quoted in M. MacLean, "Fenton Resigns Job as Gallery Director", *The Edmonton Journal*, 6 June 1987, D1.
51. T. Fenton, quoted in V. Sosnowski, "The Good was Terrific — Fenton", *The Edmonton Journal*, 6 June 1987, D1.
52. R. Boulet, Letter to the Editor, *The Edmonton Bullet*, 1 March 1988.
53. L. Muehlenbachs, "Ideology Shackles: A Dangerous Review of Dangerous Goods (and Others)," *The Edmonton Bullet*, 25 April 1990, p. 11.
54. G. Peakcock, Letter published in *Outlook*, vol, 1, no. 5 (1991), p. 18.
55. P. Marko, quoted in *Outlook*, Announcement, *The Edmonton Art Gallery Magazine*, vol. 2, no. 4 (19), p. 1.

Magazine, vol. 2, no. 4 (19), p. 1.

56. Clement Greenberg's renaming of Edmonton to commemorate Terry Fenton's success in establishing an artistic community largely committed to formalism; *The Edmonton Journal*, 8 February 1986, F1.
57. R. Boulet, quoted in Q. Park "Boulet of the EAG: Curing the lame duck and closing the bad press file," *The Edmonton Bullet*, September 11, 1991, p. 11.
58. Al Bryan, quoted in V. Sosnowski, "City Art Gallery Gets Director." *The Edmonton Journal*, 10 December 1987, F2.
59. Boulet, quoted in *Ibid*.
60. Boulet, quoted in Q. Park, *op. cit*.
61. Boulet, *ibid*.
62. Interview with the author, 27 September 1990.
63. *Ibid*.
64. E. Kidd, quoted in N. Abercrombie's, "Curating a Tough Situation," *The Edmonton Bullet*, 1 November 1989, p. 7.
65. Interview with the author, 27 September 1990.
66. *Ibid*.
67. See T. Fenton, "Organizing an Exhibition." *Update*, vol.6, no.2 (1985), p. 15-17.
68. Boulet, quoted in Park, *op. cit*.
69. R. Boulet, *Outlook*, vol. 1, no. 9 (1990), p. 1.
70. Boulet, *Outlook*, vol. 1, no. 9 (1990), p.1.
71. E. Kidd, "Dangerous Goods: Feminist Visual Art Practices," *Outlook*, vol. 1, no. 3 (1990), p. 2.
72. Boulet, quoted in Park, *op. cit*.
73. Interview with the author, *op. cit*.
74. C. Greenberg, quoted in Deborah Solomon, "Catching Up with the High Priest of Criticism," *The New York Times*, 23 June 1991.
75. Excerpt from a five-part series: "A Conversation with Clement Greenberg," *Outlook*, vol.1, no. 2-4, 1990.
76. C. A. Meszaros, "Ongoing Radical Pedagogy," *SITEsound*, September/October 1991, p. 6.
77. See above note 59.
78. See above note 69.
79. R. Martorella, *Corporate Art*, New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1990.
80. D. LaBarge, "Art and the Office Wall: Businesses Take Up Art Appreciation," *Interface*, vol. 4(a), pp. 24-28; P. Ohler "Art in the Marketplace," *Artswest*, vol. 7, no. 3 (1982), pp. 46-47.
81. *Ibid*., p. 24.
82. *Ibid*., p. 26.
83. "Profile: Edmonton Art Gallery Presidents, Past and Present," *Update*, vol. 7, no. 3 (1982), pp. 20.
84. Meszaros, *op. cit*., p. 6.
85. See also E. Levine, "Chicago's Art World," (1972); M. McCall (1977), "Art Without Market"; and H. Becker, "Art as Collective Action," (1974).

86. See H. White and C. White, *Canvasses and Careers: Institutional Changes in the French Painting World*; H. White, "Where Do Markets Come From", *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 87, (1981); and R. Moulin (1987), *The French Art Market*.
87. M. Kelly, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
88. D. Carrier, *op. cit.*, p. 196.
89. Interview with the author, 13 March 1984.
90. Interview with the author, 9 April 1984.
91. T. Fenton, interview with the author, 29 March 1984.
92. Interview with the author, 9 March 1984.
93. *Ibid.*
94. *Ibid.*
95. *Ibid.*
96. *Ibid.*
97. *Ibid.*
98. *Ibid.*
99. Interview with Author, 9 April 1984.
100. *Ibid.*
101. *Ibid.*
102. Interview with the author, 13 March 1984.
103. *Ibid.*
104. *Ibid.*
105. *Ibid.*
106. *Ibid.*
107. Interview with the author, 9 March 1984.
108. Interview with the author, 13 April 1991.
109. Interview with the author, 13 March 1984.
110. Interview with the author, 13 April 1991.
111. Interview with the author, 9 March 1984.
112. Interview with the author, 9 April 1984.
113. Interview with the author, 9 March 1984.
114. Interview with the author, 9 April 1984.
115. Interview with the author, 13 April 1991.
116. Interview with the author, 29 March 1984.
117. Terry Fenton, *op. cit.*
118. Interview with the author, 9 April 1984.
119. R. Moulin, *op. cit.*
120. I. Kopytoff, "The cultural Biography of Tings: Commoditization as process" in *The Social Life of Things*, ed. by A. Appadurai, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 19, p. 68.
121. R. Moulin, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
122. "Contextualization and the Disappearance of the Art Object," excerpts from a round-table discussion held Sunday, 29 April 1990 and published in *C*, vol. 27 (September 1990), pp. 16-23.

123. L. Muehlenbachs, "Art is Not Safe Sex," The Edmonton Bullet, 23 August 1989, p. 7.
124. Ibid.
125. J. M. Mays, "Abstraction Alive and Well and Living in Edmonton," The Globe and Mail, 29 June 1991, C5.

Chapter 7: The Making of an Artistic Career

1. Interview with Douglas Haynes at his studio on 28 September 1990; all subsequent quotations from Haynes, unless otherwise indicated, are the from same interview.
2. C. Greenberg, "Painting and Sculpture in Prairie Canada Today," Canadian Art, (Spring 1963), pp. 94-95.
3. Ibid. p. 103.
4. N. Yates, "Four Edmonton Artists," artscanada, October 1969, p. 42.
5. Ibid.
6. V. Hammock, Doug Haynes, Exhibit Catalogue, EAG, 1970, unpaginated.
7. V. Hammock, quoted in Update, vol. 6, no. 4 (1985), p.9.
8. K. Wilkin, "A Report from the West: Canada," Art in America, May-June (1972), p. 102.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid., p.103.
12. C. McConnell, "West '71, The Edmonton Art Gallery," artscanada, December 1971/January 1972, p. 143.
13. D. Haynes, statement for his solo exhibit at the Glenbow Museum, Calgary, unpaginated.
14. J. A. Forbes, foreward to the catalogue for the Haynes exhibit at the Glenbow, ibid. unpaginated.
15. K. Wilkin, "The Prairies: A Limited View," Canadian Forum, Summary, p. 37.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid., p.39.
18. K. Wilkin, The Canadian Canvas Exhibit catalogue, travelling exhibition initiated and sponsored by Time Canada Ltd., p. 32.
19. J. A. Forbes, "Edmonton — Doug Haynes," artscanada, June 1975, pp. 101-2.
20. Ibid., p. 102.
21. T. Fenton, From a catalogue of an EAG exhibit on recent abstract painting and sculpture in Canada and eastern U.S., June 1977, unpaginated.
22. Ibid.
23. T. Fenton, "Certain Traditions: Recent British and Canadian Art," Exhibit catalogue, Edmonton Art Gallery, 1978, unpaginated.
24. Ibid., p. 53.
25. Ibid., p. 54.

26. *Ibid*.
27. K. Wilkin, "Rugged Individualists with No Urge to Draw," *ARTnews*, February 1979, p.84.
28. *Ibid*., p.87.
29. *Ibid*.
30. *Ibid*.
31. D. Haynes, quoted in K. Carpenter, "Douglas Haynes' Recent Paintings," *artsmagazine*, February/March, 1979, p.31.
32. *Ibid*., p.31.
33. *Ibid*., p.32.
34. Interview with Goldie Konopny at her gallery on 4 June 1988.
35. K. Carpenter, "Douglas Haynes at Gallery One," *Art in America*, March/April, 1979, p. 157.
36. K. Woods, "The September Openings," *artscanada*, December 1978/January 1979, p. 68.
37. K. Wilkin, "Douglas Haynes: Paintings," Exhibition catalogue, 1980, unpaginated.
38. A. McDougall, "Thought-provoking Shows Featured in New Art Exhibit," *Lethbridge Herald*, 2 October 1980.
39. A. Perry, "Lost in an Artistic Time Warp," *The Province*, 18 November 1980, B8.
40. N. Zepp and M. Parke-Taylor, Catalogue for "*Doug Haynes: Painting in the Eighties*," Norman Mackenzie Gallery, Regina, Saskatchewan, unpaginated.
41. K. Wilkin, "*Abstraction X 4*," Canada House Cultural Centre Gallery, London, England, unpaginated.
42. *Ibid*.
43. *Ibid*.
44. R. Bingham, *Cubism Revisited: The Paintings of Douglas Haynes*, Edmonton Art Gallery, Edmonton, unpaginated.
45. *Ibid*.
46. L. Wylie, *Cubism Revisited: The Paintings of Douglas Haynes*, Edmonton Art Gallery, Edmonton, unpaginated.
47. D. Haynes, quoted in Phylis Matousek, "Experiment in Cubism," *Edmonton Journal*, 26 January 1985, H2.
48. D. Haynes, "Inspiration from Unexpected Sources," *Update*, vol. 7, no. 2 (1986), p. 19.
49. P. McDougall, Catalogue for *Douglas Haynes: Recent Paintings*, Alberta House, London, England, 1988, unpaginated.
50. *Ibid*.
51. Private correspondence with the author.
52. K. Wilkin, Douglas Haynes: *The Toledo Series*, Exhibit Catalogue published in conjunction with the eponymous exhibition at the Edmonton Art Gallery, with funding by the following Buschley Mowatt Fine Arts ltd., Vancouver; Gallery One, toronto; Virginia christopher Galleries Ltd., Calgary, 1991, p. 1.

53. *Ibid*., p. 3.
54. *Ibid*., p. 2.
55. *Ibid*., p. 5.
56. *Ibid*., p. 6.
57. *Ibid*.
58. *Ibid*., p. 7.
59. *Ibid*.
60. H. Feist, "Commentary by Harold Feist" (published in the catalogue for the *Toledo Series*, op. cit. p. 21.
61. Interview with the author, 28 September 1990, at the artist's studio.
62. *Ibid*.
63. *Ibid*.
64. *Ibid*.
65. Interview with the author, 25 March 1987.
66. V. Hammock, quoted in *Update*, vol.6, no. 4 (1985) p. 9.
67. L. Muehlenbachs, "On the Walls: Did Christ Pick the First 12, and Other Interesting Observations," *The Edmonton Bullet*, 19 June 1991, p. 11.
68. P. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. R. Nice, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991, pp.1-29.
69. *Ibid*., p.14.
70. *Ibid*., p.15.
71. For discussion of this phenomenon see G. McGregor, *The Wacousta Syndrome: Explorations in the Canadian Langscape*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1985, especially pp. 3-25; N. Frye, "Conclusion" in Klinck, *Literary History of Canada*, Toronto, Toronto University Press, 1965, pp. 821-849; and R. Rees, *Land of Earth and Sky: Landscape Painting of Western Canada*, Saskatoon, Western Producer Prairie Books, 1984.
72. R. Rees, "In a Strange Land ... Homesick Pioneers in the Canadian Prairie," *Landscape*, vol. 26 (1982), pp. 26-39.
73. R. Rees, "Nostalgic Reaction and the Canadian Prairie Landscape," *Great Plains Quarterly*, pp. 162-65.
74. G. McGregor, *op*. *cit*., chapter 3.
75. G. Woodcock, "Nationalism and the Canadian Genius," *artscanada*, vol. 5 (1978), p. 5.
76. Interview with the author, 28 March 1987 at the artist's studio.
77. D. Haynes, quoted in K. Carpenter's, "Douglas Haynes" Recent Painting," *Artmagazine*, vol. 10 (1979), p. 32.
78. McGregor, *op*. *cit*., p. 124.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

1. P. Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*, Cambridge: Polity Press; Stanford: Stanford University Press, (1988), p. xxvi.

2. P. Ticento Clough, *The End(s) of Ethnography: From Realism to Social Criticism*, Newberry Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1992, p. 77.
3. P. Bourdieu, *In Other Words: Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology*, Standord: Stanford University Press, (1989), p. 149.
4. *Ibid*., p. 138.
5. *Ibid*., p. 110.
6. *Ibid*., p. 145.
7. P. Bourdieu, 1988, "Outline of a theory of art perception." *International Social Science Journal*, vol. 20, no. 4, p. 608.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adler, J. 1975. "Innovative art and obsolescent artists." *Sociology Research*. 42:359-78.

Adler, J. 1979. *Artists in Offices.* New Brunswick: Transaction.

Albrecht, M. C. et al. 1970. *The Sociology of Art and Literature: A Reader*. New York: Praeger

Anderson, P. 1968. "Components of the National Culture." *New Left Review* 50:3-57.

Angenot, M. 1984. "Structuralism as Syncretism: Institutional Distortions of Saussure" in J. Fekeke *The Structural Allegory: Reconstructive Encounters With the New French Thought*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 150-163.

Balfe, J. H. 1981. "Social mobility and modern art." in *Social Movements, Conflict and Change* 4:235-51.

Balfe, J. H., Wyszomirski, M. J. eds. 1985. *Art, Ideology, and Politics*. New York: Praeger.

Barron, F. 1972. *Artists in the Making*. New York: Seminar.

Baxandall, M. 1972. *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy*. London: Oxford University Press.

Baxandall, M. 1988. *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Becker, H. S. 1974. "Art as collective action." *American Sociological Review* 39:767-76.

Becker, H. S. 1976. "Art Worlds as Social Types," *American Behaviorial Scientists* 83:703-18.

Becker, H. S. 1982. *Art Worlds*. Berkeley: Univ. California Press.

Beckwith, J. 1989. *Early Medieval Art: Carolingian, Ottonian, Romanesque*, London: Thames and Hudson.

Bennett, H. S. 1980. *On Becoming a Rock Musician*. Amherst: University of Massachusets Press.

Berge, K. 185. "From a Fort to a City: Paintings of Historical Edmonton." *Update* 6:2-3.

Berger, B. M. 1986. "Taste and domination." *American Journal of Sociology* 91:1445-53.

Berger, John. 1972. *Ways of Seeing*. London: BBC/Penguin.

Bingham, R. 1985. *Cubism Revisited: The Paintings of Douglas Haynes*. Edmonton: The Edmonton Art Gallery, unpaginated.

Bingham, R. 1985a. "James Walsh and John King." *Update* 6:5.

Bingham, R. 1987. "Graham Peacock: Paint and Process." *Update* 4:8-9.

Bird, E. 1979. "Aesthetic Neutrality and the Sociology of Art," in *Ideology and Cultural Production*, Michèle Barrett et al. London: St. Martin's Press, pp. 25-48.

Bjorn, Lars. 1981. "The Mass society and group action theories of cultural production." *Social Forces*. 60:377-394.

Blau, J. R. 1984. *Architects and Firms*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Blau, J. R. 1986. "The elite arts, more or less de rigueur." *Social Forces* 64: 875-905.

Blau, J. R. 1988. "Study of the Arts: A Reappraisal." *Annual Review of Sociology* 14:269-292.

Blau, J. R. 1988a. *The Shape of Culture.* Rose Monograph Series. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blau, P. M., Blau, J. R., Quets, G. A., Tada, T. 1986. "Social Inequality and Art Institutions." *Sociological Forum* 1: 561-85.

Boudon, R. 1989. (Trans. by Malcolm Slater). *The Analysis of Ideology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Boulet, R. H. 1990. "The Gallery Collects: A Brief History." *Outlook* 1: 1.

Bourdieu, P. 1968. "Outline of a sociological theory of art perception." *International Social Science Journal* 20: 589-612.

Bourdieu, P. 1969. "Intellectual Field and Creative Project." *Social Science Information* 8: 89-119.

Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P., Passeron, J.C. 1977a. *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. London: Sage Publications.

Bourdieu, P. 1980. "The Production of Belief: Contribution to an Economy of Symbolic Goods." *Media, Culture and Society* 2:261-293.

Bourdieu, P. 1981. "Men and Machines" in *Advances in Social Theory and Methodology: Toward an integration of micro-macro sociologies*, ed. K. Knorr-Cetina and A. V. Cicourel. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp. 304-317.

Bourdieu, P. 1981a. "The Specificity of the Scientific Field," in *French Sociology: Rupture and Renewal Since 1968*. Ed. by C.C. Lemert. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 257-292.

Bourdieu, P. 1983. "The Field of Cultural Production, or: The Economic World Reversed." *Poetics* 12: 311-356.

Bourdieu, P. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Bourdieu, P. 1985. "The Social Space and the Genesis of Groups." *Theory and Society* 14: 723-44.

Bourdieu, P. 1985a. "The Market of Symbolic Goods." *Poetics* 14: 13-44.

Bourdieu, P. 1985b. "The Genesis of the Concepts of *Habitus* and of *Field*." *Sociocriticism* 2: 11-24.

Bourdieu, P. 1987. "The Historical Genesis of a Pure Aesthetic," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 46:201-210.

Bourdieu, P. 1988. "Flaubert's Point of View," *Critical Inquiry* 14:539-562.

Bourdieu, P. 1988. *Homo Academicus*, Cambridge: Polity Press: Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, P. 1989. _In Other Words: Essay Towards a Reflexive Sociology_. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Bowler, A. 1984. Book review of _The Social Production of Art_. _Social Forces_ 62: 1124.

Brubaker, R. 1985. "Rethinking Classical Theory: The Sociological Vision of Pierre Bourdieu." _Theory and Society_ 14: 723-44.

Buren, M. 1985. "Functions of the Museum" in R. Hertz _Theories of Contemporary Art_. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Bürger, P. 1984. _Theory of the Avant Garde_ trans. Michael shaw, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Bystryn, M. 1978. "Art galleries as gatekeepers." _Sociological Research_ 45:390-408.

Bystryn, M. 1981. "Variation in Artistic Circles." _The Sociological Quarterly_ 22: 120-132.

Carpenter, K. 1979. "Douglas Haynes' Recent Paintings." _artsmagazine_. February/March, p. 31.

Carpenter, K. 1979. "Douglas Haynes at Gallery One." _Art in America_. March/April p. 157.

Carrier, D. 1985. "Art and its Market" in R. Hertz _Theories of Contemporary Art_. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.

Castoriadis, C. 1984. "The Imaginary Institution of Society" in J. Fekeke, _The Structural Allegory: Reconstructive Encounters with the New French Thought_. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, pp. 6-45.

Chenier, r. 1987. _Celebrations: Works by Selected Graduate Students 1970-1986_. Exhibit Catalogue, Edmonton Department of Art and Design, The University of Alberta.

Cixous, H. 1986. "Sorties: Out and Out: Attacks/Ways Out/Forays" in H. Cixous and C. Clément _The Newly Born Woman_. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Clark, T. J. 1973. _Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution_. London: Thames and Hudson.

Clark, T. J. 1973a. _The Absolute Bourgeois: Artists and Politics in France, 1848-1851_. London: Thames and Hudson.

Clifford, J. 1983. "On Ethnographic Authority." _Representations_ 2: 118-146.

Cliffort, J. 1986. "Partial Truths" in _Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography_ ed. by J. Clifford and G. E. Marcus. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 1-26.

Clignet, R. 1985. _The Structure of Artistic Revolutions._ Philadephia: Univ. Penn. Press.

Cole, D. 1978. "Artists, Patrons and Public: An Enquiry into the Success of the Group of Seven." _Journal of Canadian Studies_ 13: 69-78.

Collins, R. 1981. "Cultural Capitalism and Symbolic Violence in Sociology" in _Mid-Century: Essays in Theory Cumulation_. New York: Academic Press, pp. 173-82.

Collins, R. 1986. "Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste." *Society* 80: 80-81.

Corrigan, P. 1988. "The body of Intellectuals/The Intellectual's Body." *The Sociological Review* 36: 368-80.

Couch, S. R. 1983. "Patronage and organizational structure in symphony orchestras in London and New York." See Kamerman & Martorella 1983, pp. 109-22.

Crane, A. 1976. "Reward systems in art, science and religion." *American Behavioral Scientists* 19: 719-734.

Crane, D. 1987. *The Transformation of the Avant-Garde.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Crapanzano, V. 1977. "On the Writing of Ethnography." *Dialectical Anthropology* 22: 69-73.

Danto, A. 1964. "The artworld." *Journal of Philosophy* 41: 571-84.

Davis, K. 1989. "Difficult Challenges -- Great Joys: History at the EAG." *Update* 6: 4-11.

Dickie, G. 1974. *Art and the Aesthetic: An Institutional Analysis*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press

DiMaggio, P. 1979. "On Pierre Bourdieu." *American Journal of Sociology* 84: 1460-1474.

DiMaggio, P. 1982. "Cultural entrepreneurship in nineteenth-century Boston." *Media, Culture and Society* 4:33-50.

DiMaggio, P. 1983. "The Sociology of Art Comes of Age." *Contemporary Sociology* 12: 273-74.

DiMaggio, P., Useem, M. 1983. "Cultural democracy in a period of cultural expansion." See Kamerman & Martorella, 1983, pp. 199-226.

DiMaggio, P. 1987b. "Classification in art." *American Sociological Review* 52: 440-455.

DiMaggio, P. 1991. "Decentralization of Arts Funding from the Federal Government to the States," in S. Benedict, *Public Money and the Muse*, New York: W. W. Norton.

Douglas, M. 1986. *How Institutions Think.* Syracuse: Syracuse Univ. Press.

Dubin, S. C. 1986. "Artistic production and social control." *Social Forces*. 64: 667-88.

Elias, N., Dunning, E. 1986. *Quest for Excitement.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Elias, N. 1991. *The Symbol Theory* ed. with an introduction by R. Kilminster. London: Sage.

Etzkorn, K. P. 1975. "Social Validity of Art and Social change." *Revue Internationale de Sociologie* 2: 38-48.

Faulkner, R. 1973. "Orchestra interaction." *Sociological Quarterly* 14:147-57.

Fenton, T. and K. Wilkin. 1978. *Modern Painting in Canada: Major Movements in Twentieth Century Canadian Art*. Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers and the Edmonton Art Gallery.

Fenton, T. 1978. *Certain Traditions: Recent British and Canadian Art*. Exhibit Catalogue. Edmonton: The Edmonton Art Gallery, unpaginated.

Fenton, T. 1985 . "The Crisis in Taste: and How to Put an End to it." *Update*, unpaginated.

Fine, G. A. 1979. "Small Groups and Culture Creation." *American Sociological Review* 44: 733-745.

Forbes, J. A. 1974. *The Haynes Exhibit at the Glenbow*. The Glenbow Museum, unpaginated.

Forbes, J. A. 1975. "Edmonton-Doug Haynes." *artscanada*. June, pp. 101-102.

Forbes, J. A. 1985. *Art at the University of Alberta: The First Decade*. Exhibit Catalogue. Edmonton: The Edmonton Art Gallery.

Foster, A. W. 1976. "The slow radical." *British Journal of Aesthetics.* 16: 161-69.

Foster, S. W. 1986. "Reading Pierre Bourdieu." *Cultural Anthropology* 1: 103-120.

Foucault, M. 1986. *The Care of the Self. Vol. 3. The History of Sexuality.* Trans. R. Hurley. New York: Pantheon (From French).

Fox, D. M. 1970. "Artists in the Modern State: The Nineteenth-Century Background" in M. C. Albrecht et al. *The Sociology of Art and Literature*. London: Duckworth.

Frye, N. 1965. "Conclusion" in *Literary History of Canada* ed. by C. F. Klinck. Toronto: Toronto University Press, pp. 821-49.

Fuller, P. 1983. *The Naked Artist*. London: Writers and Readers.

Gadamer, H. G. 1986. *The Relevance of the Beautiful and Other Essays*. Trans. N. Walker, ed. R. Bernasconi. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press (From German).

Gans, H. J. 1985. "American popular culture and high culture in a changing class structure." *Prospectus* 10:17-37.

Garnham, N., Williams, R. 1986. "Pierre Bourdieu and the Sociology of culture: An Introduction." in Collins, R. et al, eds. 1986. *Media, Culture and Society: A Critical Reader.* Beverly Hills: Sage, pp. 116-130.

Geertz, C. 1983. *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology*. New York: Basic Books.

Getzels, J. W., M. Csikszentmihalyi. 1968. "On the roles, values, and performances of future artists." *Sociological Quarterly* 9: 516-30.

Gibbon, J. M. 1939. *The Canadian Mosaic*. London: J. M. Dent.

Giddens, A. 1986. "The Politics of Taste." *Partisan Review* 53: 300-5.

Greenberg, C. 1963. "Clement Greenberg's View: Painting and Sculpture in Prairie Canada Today." *Canadian Art*. March, pp.

Greenberg, C. 1967. *Art and Culture*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Greenfeld, L. 1989. *Different Worlds: A Study of Taste, Choice and Success in the Arts*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Griff, M. 1968. "The recruitment and socialization of artists." In *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. D. L. Sills, V: 447-454. New York: Crowell-Collier & MacMillan.

Guilbaut, S. 1983. *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art*. Trans. A. Goldhammer. Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press.

Gurvitch, G. 1971. *The Social Frameworks of Knowledge*. Trans. M. A. Thompson, K. A. Thompson. New York: Harper & Row.

Haacke, H. 1975. *Framing and Being Framed: Seven Works 1970-75*. Halifax: The Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design.

Haacke, H. 1985. "Museums, Managers of Consciousness" in Wallis *Hans Haacke: Unfinished Business*. New York/Cambridge: Museum of Contemporary Art.

Habermas, J. 1983. *Modernity-an Incomplete Project*. Trans. s. Ben-Habib. In *The Anti-Aesthetic, ed. H. Foster, pp. 3-15. Port Townsend, Washington: Bay.*

Hadjinicolaou, N. 1978. *Art History and Class Struggle*. London: Pluto.

Hall, S. "Cultural Studies: Two Paradigms," in Richard Collins et al. Eds., 1986. *Media, Culture and Society: A Critical Reader*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Hall, S. 1989. "Cultural Studies and the Centre: Some Problematics and Problems: in S. Hall, ed., *Culture, Media and Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies 1972-79*. London: Hutchinson, pp. 20-21.

Hammock, V. G. 1970. *Doug Haynes*. Exhibit Catalogue, unpaginated.

Hanna, J. L. 1983. *The Performer-Audience Connection*. Austin: Univ. Texas Press.

Happer, R. 1966. *Painting in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Harrison, C., Orton, F. eds. 1984. *Modernism, Criticism, Realism*. London: Harper and Row.

Hart, E. J. 1983. *The Selling of Canada: The CPR and the Beginnings of Canadian Tourism*. Banff: Altitude Publishing.

Haskell, F. 1963. *Patrons and Painters.* New York: Knopf.

Haskell, F. 1976. *Rediscoveries in art: Some Aspects of Taste, Fashion and Collecting in England and France*. London: Phaidon.

Hauser, A. 1951. *The Social History of Art*. 4 Vol.A. Lonson: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Haynes, D. 1986. "Inspiration from Unexpected Sources." *Update* 2: 19.

Hincks, T. 1984. "Aesthetics and the Sociology of Art: A Critical Commentary on the Writings of Janet Wolff." *British Journal of Aesthetics* 24: 341-354.

Hirsch, P. M. 1972. "Processing fads and fashions." *American Journal of Sociology*. 77: 639-59.

Holt, E. ed. 1979. *The Triumph of Art for the Public.* Garden City, New York: Anchor.

Honneth, A. et al. 1986. "The Struggle for Symbolic Order: An Interview with Pierre Bourdieu." *Theory, Culture and Society* 3: 35-51.

Horowitz, H. L. 1976. *Culture and the City.* Lexington: University Kentucky Press.

Howard, D. 1975. "Notes and Commentary: Introduction to Castoriadis." *Telos* 23: 117-155.

Johnson, R. 1979. "Histories of Culture/Theories of Ideology: Notes on an Impasse" in *Ideology and Cultural Production*, ed. by Michèle Barrett et al. London: St. Martin's Press, pp. 49-77.

Kadushin, C. 1976. "Networks and circles in the production of culture" in R. A. Peterson, ed. *The Production of Culture*, pp. 49-77.

Kadushin, C. 1976. "Networks and circles in the production of culture." See R. A. Peterson 1976, pp. 107-22.

Kamerman, J. B., Martorella, R. eds. 1983. *Performers and Performances*. South Hadley, Masseschusetts: Bergin & Garvey.

Kavolis, V. 1968. *Artistic Expressions*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Kavolis, V. 1975. Book review of *Hermeneutic Philosophy and the Sociology of Art*. *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 34: 215.

Kavolis, V. 1982. Book review of *Art Worlds*, *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 41:220.

Kelly, M. 1984. "Reviewing Modernist Criticism" in B. Wallis *Art after Modernism: Rethinking Representation*. Boston: New Museum of Contemporary Art and in New York: David R. Godine Publisher.

Kidd, E. 1990. "Dangerous Goods: Feminist Visual Art Practices." *Outlook* 1: 2.

Kopytoff, I. "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commodifization Process" in A. Appadurai *The Social Life of Things*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kristeller, P. O. 1979. "The Modern System of the Arts" in E. Kennick *Art and Philosophy*. London: St. Martin's Press, pp. 7-33.

LaBarge, D. "Art and the Office Wall: business Takes Up Art Appreciation." *Interface* 4: 24-28.

LaMaison, P. 1986. "From Rules to Strategies: An Interview with Pierre Bourdieu." *Cultural Anthropology* 1: 110-20.

Lamont, M., Lareau, A. 1987. *Cultural Capital in American Research*. Chicago: Center for Psychosocial Studies.

Lemert, C. C. 1981. "Literary Politics and the *Champ* of French Sociology." *Theory and Society* 10:645-69.

Levine, E. 1972. "Chicago's Art World." *Urban Life and Culture* 1:292-322.

Lord, B. 1974. *The History of Painting in Canada*. Toronto: The NC Press.

Lovell, T. 1984. Book Review of *Aesthetics and the Sociology of Art*. *Sociological Review* 32:173.

Lynes, R. 1949. *The Tastemakers*. New York: Harper.

Lynes, R. 1970. *The Art-Makers of Nineteenth Century America.* New York: Atheneum.

MacKinnon, D. W. 1965. "Personality and the correlates of creative potential." *American Psychologist* 20: 273-81.

Manos, K. 1984. "On the Language of Art Writing: Attack on Jargon Justified if Art Writers Pay Heed." *Artswest* 9: 20.

Martorella, R. 1982. *The Sociology of Opera.* South Hadley, Mass: J. F. Bergin.

Martorella, R. 1990. *Corporate Art*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

McCall, M. M. 1977. "Art Without a Market: Creating Artistic Value in a provincial Art World." *Symbolic Interaction* 1: 32-43.

McCall, M. M. 1978. "The Sociology of Female artists." *Studies in Symbolic Interaction* ‘:289-318.

McConnell, C. 1972. "West '71, The Edmonton Art Gallery." *artscanada*. December 1971/January 1972, p. 143.

McGregor, G. 1985. *The Wacousta Syndrome: Explorations in the Canadian Langscape*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Meszaros, C. A. 1991. "Ongoing Radical Pedagogy." *SITEsound*. September/October, pp. 6-7.

Meyer, K. E. 1979. *The Art Museum*. New York: William Morrow.

Miller, L. B. 1966. *Patrons and Patriotism*. Chicago: University Chicago Press.

Miller, L. 1989. Review of D. E. Smith's *The Everyday World as Problematic* in the *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 14: 521-530.

Miles, M. R. 1985. *Image as Insight: Visual Understanding in Western Christianity and Secular Culture*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Moulin, R. 1987. *The French Art Market*. Trans. A. Goldhammer. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Mulkay, M., Chaplin, E. 1982. "Aesthetics and the artistic career." *Sociological Quarterly* 23:117-38.

Neapolitan, J. 1986. "Art, craft, and art/craft segments among craft media workers." *Work Occupations* 13:203-16.

Ohler, P. 1982. "Art in the Marketplace." *Artswest* 7: 46-7.

Parker, R., Pollock, G. 1981. *Old Mistresses: Women, Art, and Ideology*. New York: Pantheon.

Parker, R. 1984. *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine*. London: Women's Press.

Parsons, T. 1951. *The Social System*. New York: Free Press.

Peters, A. K., M. G. Cantor. 1982. "Screen acting as work." In *Individuals as Mass Media Organizations*, ed. J. S. Ettema, D. C. Whitney, pp. 53-68. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Peterson, R. A. ed. 1976. *The Production of Culture*. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Peterson, R. A. 1978. "The Production of cultural change." *Social Research* 45: 292-314.

Peterson, R. A. 1979. "Revitalizing the culture concept." *Annual Review of Sociology* 5: 137-66.

Peterson, R. A., White, H. G. 1979. "The simplex located in art worlds." *Urban Life* 7: 411-39.

Pevsner, N. 1940. *Academics of Art, Past and Present.* Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press.

Pevsner, N. 1970. "French and Dutch Artists in the Seventeenth Century" in M. C. albrecht et al *The Sociology of Art and Literature*. London: Duckworth, pp. 363-369.

Poggioli, R. 1968. *The Theory of the Avant-Garde*. Trans. Gerald Fitzgerald. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press (From French).

Pollock, G. 1988. *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism, and the Histories of Art*. London: Routledge.

Preshing, W., R. Coulombe. 1985. *Art as Industry*. Edmonton: The Management Institute of the University of Alberta and the Alberta Art Foundation.

Read, H. 1936. *Art and Society*. London: Heinemann.

Rees, R. 1982. "In a Strange Land. . . Homesick Pioneers in the Canadian Prairie." *Landscape* 26: 26-39.

Rees, R. 1982. "Nostalgic reaction and the Canadian Prairie Landscape." *Great Plains Quarterly* :162-165.

Rees, R. 1989. *Land of Earth and Sky: Landscape Painting of Western Canada*. Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books.

Riemer, J. W., N. A. Brooks. 1982. *Flaming the Artist*. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America.

Robbins, D. 1991. *The work of Pierre Bourdieu: Recognizing Society*. Boulder: Westview.

Rochberg-Halton, E. 1986. *Meaning and Modernity: Social Theory in the Pragmatic Attitude*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Rogers, M. 1970. "The Batignolles group." In *The Sociology of Art and Literature*, ed. M. C. Albrecht, et. al., pp. 194-220. New York: Praeger.

Rosen, C., H. Zerner. 1984. *Romanticism and Realism: The Mythology of Nineteenth Century Art*. London: Faber and Faber.

Rosenberg, A. L. "Women Artists and the Canadian Art world: A Survey." *Atlantis* 5: 145-162.

Rosenberg, B. 1957. "Mass culture in America." In *Mass Culture*, ed. B. Rosenberg, D. M. White, 3-12. Glencoe, Ill: Free Press.

Rosenberg, H. 1970. "The Art Establishment" in M. C. Albrecht et al *The Sociology of Art and Literature*. London: Duckworth.

Rosenblum, B. 1978. "Style as social process." *American Sociological Review* 43: 422-38.

Sewter, A. C. 1935. "The Possibilities for a Sociology of Art." *The Sociological Review* 27: 4-30.

Shils, E. 1978. "Mass society and its culture." In *Literary Taste, Culture, and Mass Communication*, ed. P. Davison, R. Meyersohn, E. Shils, pp. 200-229. Teaneck, NJ: Somerset House.

Shute, d. 1987. "Sixty-Fifty Annual Spring Exhibition: Edmonton Art Club Celebrates Its History." *Update* 2: 4.

Silberman, A. 1968. "Introduction: a definition of the sociology of art." *International Social Sciences Journal* 20: 467-588.

Simpson, C. R. 1981. *SoHo: The Artist in the City.* Chicago: University Chicago Press.

Slatkin, W. 1985. *Women artists in history: from antiquity to the 20th century*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.

Smith, D. E. 1987. *The Everyday World as Problematic: A Feminist Sociology.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Sorokin, P. *Social and Cultural Dynamics* Vol I: Fluctuations of Forms of Art. New York: Harper and Row.

Stebbins, R. A. 1976. "Music among friends." *Review of International Sociology*. 12:52-75.

Strathern, M. 1987. "Art of Context: The Persuasive Fiction of anthropology." *Current Anthropology* 28: 251-81.

Sulkunen, P. 1982. "Society Made Visible: On the Cultural Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu." *Acta Sociologica* 25: 103-115.

Swingwood, A. Book review of *Hermeneutic Philosophy* and *The Sociology of Art*. *Sociological Review* 24:175.

Sydie, R. A. 1981. "The state of the art: Sociology of art in the Canadian context." *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 18: 14-29.

Sydie, R. A. 1989. "Humanism, Patronage and the Question of Women's Artistic Genius in the Italian Renaissance." *Journal of Historical Sociology* 2: 175-205.

Thompson, J. B. 1984. *Studies in the Theory of Ideology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Ticento Clough, P. 1992. *The Ends(s) of Ethnography: From Realism to Social Criticism*. Newberry Park: Sage Publications.

Tippett, M. 1990. *Making Culture: English-Canadian Institutions and the Arts Before the Massey Commission*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Van Rees, C. J. 1983. "Advances in the Empirical Sociology of Literature and the Arts: The Institutional Approach." *Poetics* 12:

Wacquant, L. J. D. 1987. "Symbolic Violence and the Making of the French Agriculturalist: An Inquiry into Pierre Bourdieu's Sociology." *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology* 23: 65-88.

Wacquant, L. J. D. 1989. "Toward a Reflexive Sociology: A Workshop With Pierre Bourdieu." *Sociological Theory* 7-1:26-63.

Weber, M. 1921/1958. *The Rational and Social Foundations of Music*. Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press.

White, H. C., White, C. 1965. *Canvases and Careers*. New York: Wiley.

Wilkin, K. 1983. "William Perehudoff: Ten Years 1970-1980." *Update* 4: 2.

Wilkin, K. 1984. *Abstraction X4: Joseph Drapell, Harold Feist, Douglas Haynes, Leopold Plotek*. Exhibit Catalogue. London: Canada House Cultural Centre Gallery, unpaginated.

Wilkin, K. 1972. "A Report from the West: Canada." *Art in America*. May/June, p. 102.

Wilkin, K. 1975. "The Prairies: A Limited View." *Canadian Forum*. Summer, pp. 37-40.

Wilkin, K. 1975a. *The Canadian Canvas*. Travelling Exhibit Catalogue.

Wilkin, K. 1979. "Rugged individuals with no urge to draw." *Artnews*. February, p. 84.

Wilkin, K. 1980. *Douglas Haynes: Paintings*. Exhibit Catalogue, unpaginated.

Wilkin, K. 1980a. *Painting in Alberta: An Historical Survey*. Edmonton: The Edmonton Art Gallery.

Wilkin, K. 1991. *The Toledo Series*. Edmonton: The Edmonton Art Gallery.

Williams, R. 1976. *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. Glasgow: Fontana/Croom Helm.

Williams, R. 1982. *The Sociology of Culture*. New York: Schocken.

Wilson, R. N. 1973. *The Sociology and Psychology of Art*. Morristown: General Learning.

Wilson, R. N. 1983. Book Review of *Art Worlds*. *Society* 20: 94.

Wolff, J. 1975. *Hermeneutic Philosophy and the Sociology of Art.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Wolff, J. 1981. *The Social Production of Art*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Wolff, J. 1982. "The Problem of Ideology in the sociology of Art: A Case Study of Manchester in the nineteenth Century." *Media, Culture and Society* 4: 63-75.

Wolff, J. 1983. *Aesthetics and the Sociology of Art*. London: Allen and Unwin.

Wolff, J. 1991. *Feminine Sentences: Essays on Women and Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wolff, J., Seed, J., eds. 1988. *The Culture of Capital: Art, Power and the Nineteenth-Century Middle Class*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Wollheim, R. 1968. *Art and its Objects: an Introduction to Aesthetics*. London: Harper and Row.

Woodcock, G. 1978. "Nationalism and the Canadian Genius." *artscanada* 5: 5.

Woods, K. 1979. "The September Openings." *artscanada*. December 1978/January 1979, p. 68.

Yates, N. 1969. "Four Edmonton Artists." *artscanada*. October, p. 42.

Zepp, N., Parke-Taylor, M. 1983. *Doug Haynes: Painting in the Eighties*. Regina: Norman MacKenzie Gallery, unpaginated.

Zolberg, V. L. 1980. "Displayed art and performed music." *Sociological Quarterly* 21:219-31.

Zolberg, V. L. 1981. "Conflicting visions in American art museums." *Theory and Society* 10:103-25.

Zolberg, V. L. 1983. "Changing patterns of patronage in the arts." See Kamerman & Martorella, 1983, pp. 251-68.

Zolberg, V. L. 1984. "American art museums." *Sociological Forces* 63: 377-93.

Zolberg, V. 1986. "Taste as a Social Weapon." *American Journal of Sociology* 91: 511-15.

Zolberg, V. 1990. *Constructing a Sociology of the Arts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zukin, S. 1982. "Art in the arms of power." *Theory and Society* 11: 423-51.